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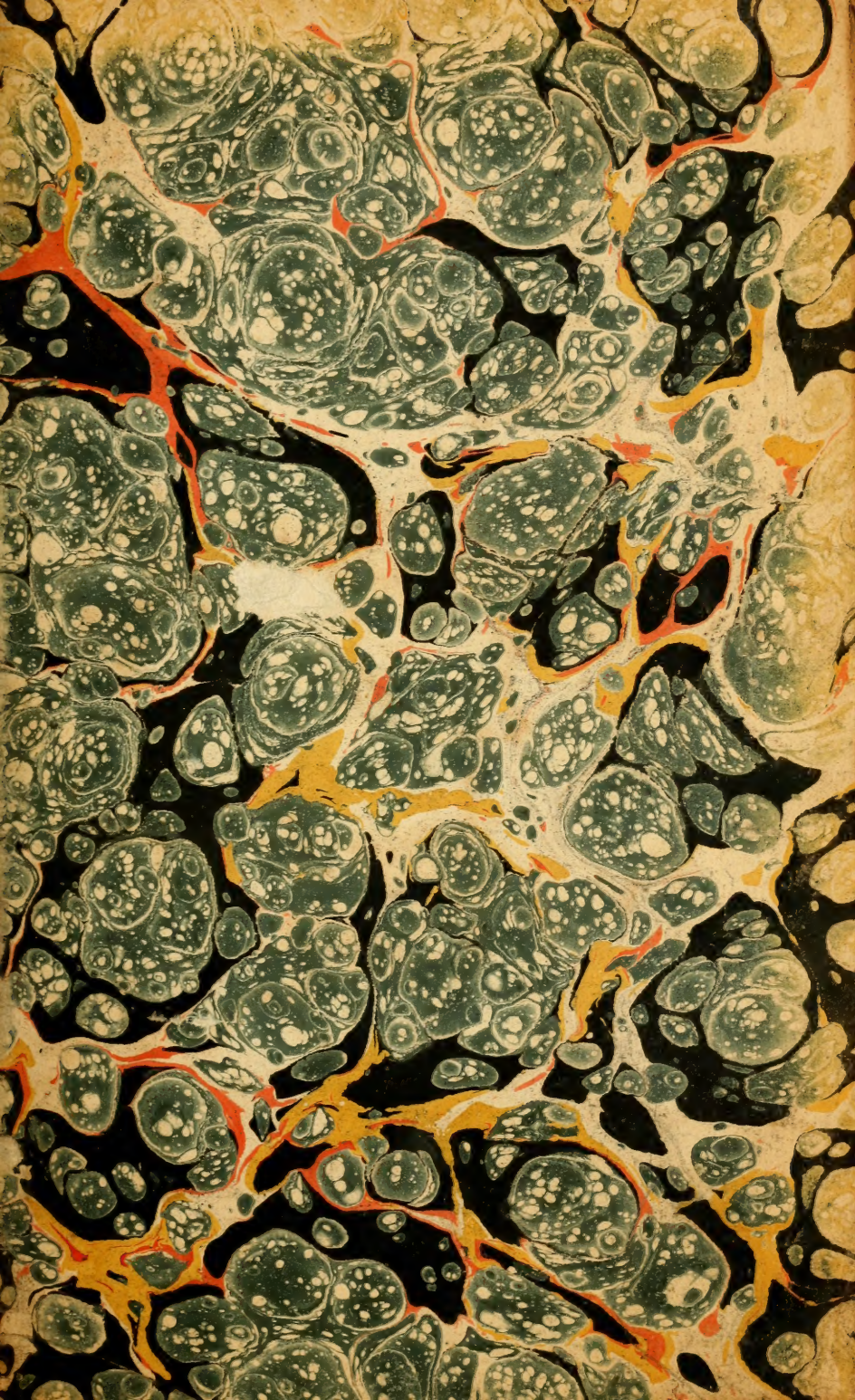
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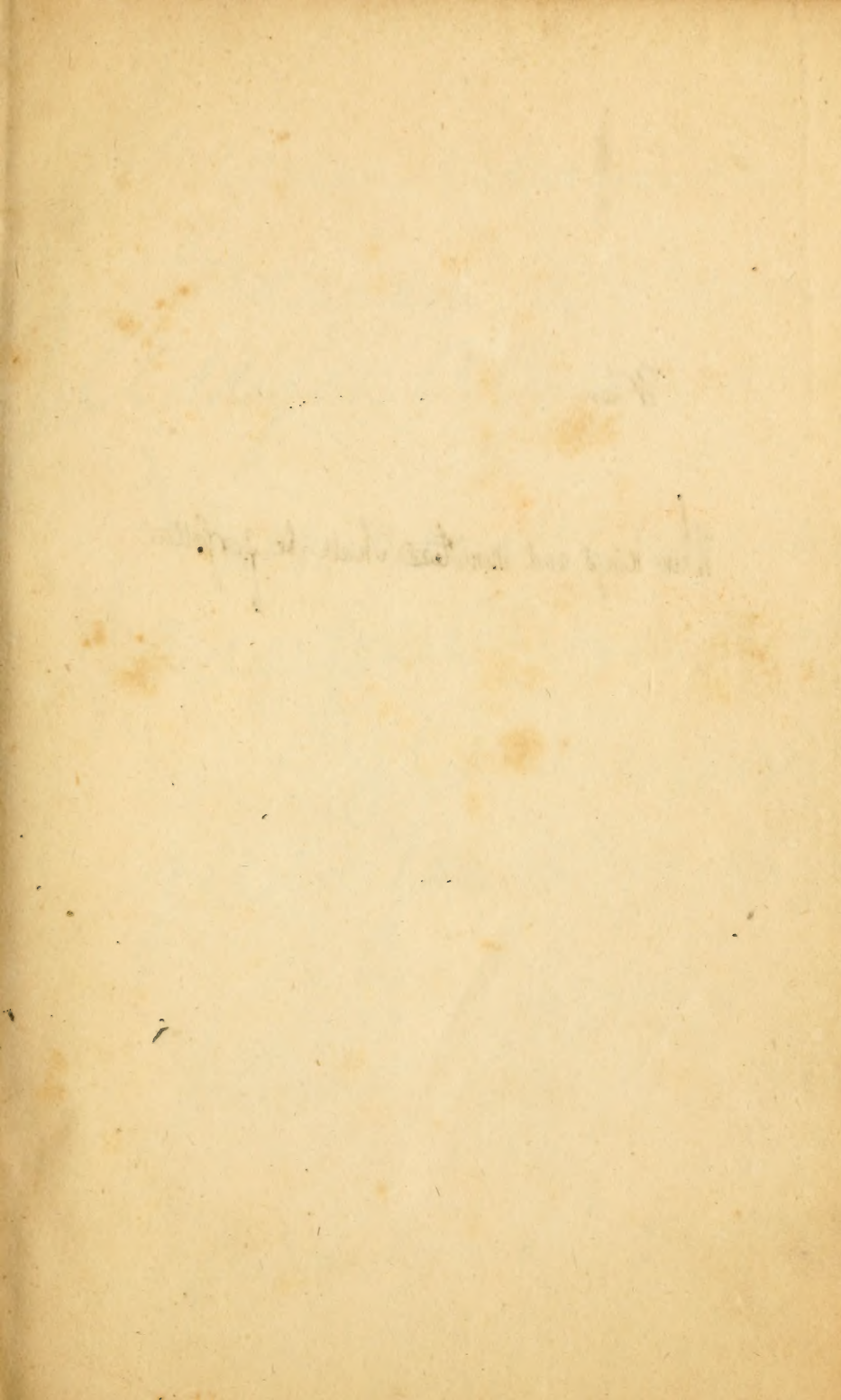


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When Kings and Ministers

By



When

When kings and Ministers shall be forgotten

Madison Alexander

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Madison Alexander

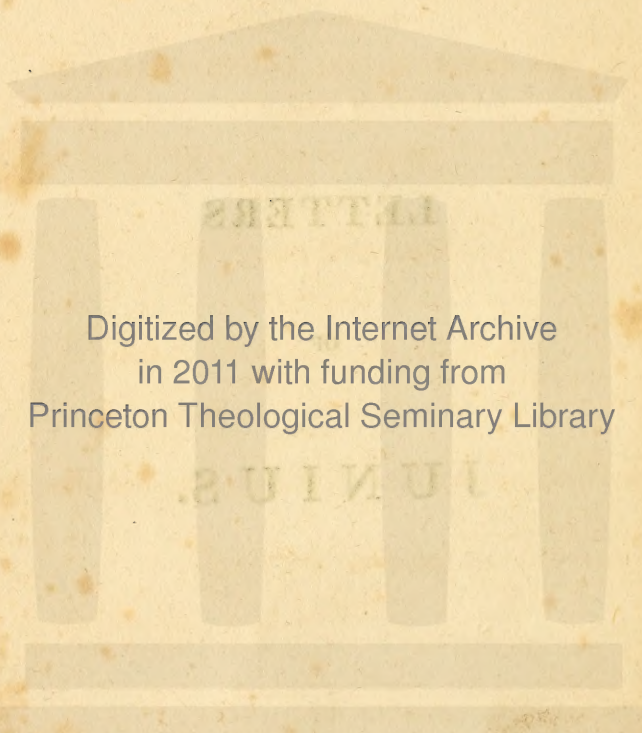
Madison Alexander

Madison Alexander

LETTERS

OF

JUNIUS.



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JUNIUS:

INCLUDING

Letters by the same Writer,

UNDER OTHER SIGNATURES,

(NOW FIRST COLLECTED.)

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

HIS CONFIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

MR. WILKES,

AND HIS

PRIVATE LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

MR. H. S. WOODFALL.

WITH

A Preliminary Essay, Notes, Fac-Similes, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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STAT NOMINIS UMBRA.  
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PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY BRADFORD AND INSKEEP;

AND

INSKEEP AND BRADFORD, NEW-YORK.

William Fry, Printer.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present edition contains, besides the letters published by authority of JUNIUS himself, others written by the same author, under various signatures, which appeared in the Public Advertiser from April, 1767, to May, 1772, together with his Private Letters, peculiarly curious and interesting, addressed to his printer, the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall, and his confidential correspondence with Mr. Wilkes. These latter papers only reached the proprietor's hands after a considerable part of the work had been printed off, and will account for the unavoidable omission of any notice of them in the Preliminary Essay.

It is in perfect consistency with the plan at first proposed by the author, but which he was compelled in some degree to depart from, as remarked in the Preliminary Essay, that the edition now offered contains, independently of his more finished compositions under the signature of JUNIUS and PHILO JUNIUS, letters under other signatures, bearing nevertheless characteristic and unequivocal marks of proceeding from the same pen; and which, though written perhaps with more haste than the former, exhibit merit enough to accompany them; while they possess no small portion of additional value as comments upon points that require elucidation.

The editor, in thus deciding upon materials which lie scattered through what the author terms six "solid folios," will be found seldom to have relied altogether upon his own judgment, but to have availed himself of a variety of minute clues resulting from incidental references, or open acknowledgments in the Private Letters; direct charges of contemporary labourers in the same political vineyard, which were not disavowed by JUNIUS himself, as it was his custom whenever "other persons' sins," to adopt his own language, were attributed to him; or from numerous other casual hints both in the acknowledged and more palpable Miscellaneous Letters, of which the reader, it is presumed, will meet with instances enough to satisfy himself as he proceeds.

To the author's explanatory notes, the present editor has added such others through the entire progress of the work, as the intervening lapse of time has seemed to render necessary, and though some of them are longer than he could have wished, yet from the circumstance of their having been written in answer to letters from JUNIUS, he has thought it more desirable that they should appear in the form in which they are now offered, than be pressed into the text of the work, by which means its present size must have been very considerably extended; and the plan, as devised by the author, have been in some instances departed from. Many of these notes, moreover, selected from the Public Advertiser, will be found in themselves extremely curious and valuable, while at the same time they are no where else to be met with. The text has been carefully collated with the journal in which the letters originally appeared, and very numerous errors which have crept into all the editions, except the genuine one published by Mr. H. S. Woodfall himself, and which have been considerably multiplied in

the later impressions, have been carefully corrected or expunged.

The various fac-similes of the hand-writing of JUNIUS, which are executed with peculiar fidelity, have been selected from those parts of his manuscripts which present the greatest diversity of penmanship, though the differences, except in that numbered eight, are so trifling, that a hard or a soft, a good or a bad pen, is altogether sufficient to account for them. The papers which have been copied for specimens of the writing of JUNIUS, will be found in their due order, among the Private Letters. The other fac-similes, as well as the seals, have been delineated with equal accuracy.

The proprietor feels it a duty incumbent upon him, before he closes this ADVERTISEMENT, to make his warmest acknowledgments to several distinguished characters who have inspected the papers in his possession, and who have kindly afforded him much valuable assistance. He begs more especially to offer his sincere thanks to the eminent person who obligingly furnished the specimen of Mr. Burke's hand-writing, which will be found among the other fac-similes.

To the gentleman to whom he stands so much indebted for the very valuable addition of the private correspondence between JUNIUS and Mr. WILKES, and which probably renders the whole of the political writings of the former complete; as also to another gentleman who procured for him the note from Mr. W. G. Hamilton, and who on various occasions has taken great pains and trouble in pointing out sources of useful information, he begs most particularly to return his unfeigned gratitude.

To his more immediate personal friends for the warm interest they have evinced in the success of his undertaking,

he feels far beyond what he is able to express. And he now submits these volumes to the judgment of the political and literary world, with deference and respect, in the hope that his earnest endeavours to present them for the first time with a complete and perfect edition of the *Letters*, and, as far as may be, the *Political Works*, of JUNIUS, will not be wholly unsuccessful, and that he shall experience the further satisfaction of finding it acknowledged, that the task has been at least impartially executed.

PATERNOSTER-Row,

July 15, 1812.

PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

IT was not from personal vanity, but a fair estimate of his own merit, and the importance of the subject on which he wrote, that the author of the ensuing letters predicted their immortality. The matter and the manner, the times and the talents they disclose, the popularity which attended them at their outset, the impression they produced on the public mind, and the triumph of the doctrines they inculcate, all equally concur in stamping for them a passport to the most distant posterity.

In their range these letters comprise a period of about five years; from the middle of 1767 to the middle of 1772: and never has the history of this country, from its origin to the present hour, exhibited a period of equal extent that more peremptorily demanded the severe, decisive, and overpowering pen of such a writer as JUNIUS. The storms and tempests that, within the last twenty years, have shaken the political world to its centre, have been wider and more tremendous in their operation; but they have, for the most part, discharged their fury at a distance. The constitutions of other countries have been swept away by the whirlwind; but that of England still towers, like the pyramids of Egypt, a wonderful and immortal fabric, overshadowing the desert that surrounds it, and defying the violence of its hurricanes. In the period before us, however, this stupendous and beautiful fabric itself was attacked, and trembled to its foundation: a series of unsuccessful ministries too often profligate

and corrupt, and not unfrequently cunning, rather than capable; a succession of weak and obsequious parliaments, and an arbitrary, though able chief justice, addicted to the impolitic measures of the cabinet, fatally concurred to confound the relative powers of the state, and equally to unhinge the happiness of the crown and of the people; to frustrate all the proud and boasted triumphs of a glorious war, concluded but a few years before by an inglorious peace¹; to excite universal contempt abroad, and universal discord at home. Hence France, humiliated as she was by her losses and defeats, did not hesitate to invade Corsica in open defiance of the remonstrances of the British minister; and succeeded in obtaining possession of it, whilst Spain dishonourably refused to make good the ransom she had agreed to, for the restoration of the capital of the Philippine Isles, which had been saved from pillage upon this express stipulation. They saw the weakness and distraction of the English Cabinet, and had no reason to dread the chastisement of a new war.

The discontents in the American colonies, which a little address might at first have stifled for ever, were blown into a flame of open rebellion, by the impolitic violence of the very minister who was appointed, by the creation of a new office at this very time and for this express purpose, to examine into the causes of dissatisfaction, and to redress the grievances complained of: while, at home, the whole ways and means of the ministry, instead of being directed against the insolence of the common enemy, were exhausted against an individual, who, perhaps, would never have been so greatly distinguished, had not the ill-judged and contumacious opposition of the cabinet, and their flagrant violation of the most sacred and important principles of the constitution, in order to punish him, raised him to a height of popularity seldom attained even by the most successful candidates for public applause; and embroiled themselves on his account in a dispute with the nation at large, almost amounting to a

¹ In 1763, through the negotiation of the Duke of Bedford.

civil war, and which, at length, only terminated in their own utter confusion and defeat¹.

It was at this period, and under these circumstances, that the ensuing letters successively made their appearance in the *Public Advertiser*, the most current newspaper of the day². The classical chastity of their language, the exquisite force and perspicuity of their argument, the keen severity of their reproach, the extensive information they evinced, their fearless and decisive tone, and, above all, their stern and steady attachment to the purest principles of the constitution, acquired for them, with an almost electric speed, a popularity which no series of letters have since possessed, nor perhaps ever will; and what is of far greater consequence, diffused among the body of the people a clearer knowledge of their constitutional rights than they had ever before attained, and animated them with a more determined spirit to maintain them inviolate³. Enveloped in the cloud of a fictitious name, the writer of these philippics, unseen himself, beheld with secret satisfaction, the vast influence of his labours, and enjoyed, though, as we shall afterwards observe, not always without apprehension, the universal hunt that was made to detect him in his disguise. He beheld the people extolling him, the court execrating him, and ministers and more than ministers trembling beneath the lash of his invisible hand.

It is by no means, however, the intention of the editor of the present volumes to vindicate the whole of the method pursued by JUNIUS towards the accomplishment of the pa-

¹ In the language of Lord Chatham, delivered on May 1, 1771, in the House of Lords, "they rendered the very name of parliament ridiculous, by carrying on a constant war against Mr. Wilkes."

² They were generally copied from the *Public Advertiser* into all the daily and evening papers.

³ That the same general impression was produced by the appearance of these letters in Parliament, which is so well known to have been produced out of it, is evident from almost all the speeches of the day, if the editor had time to refer to them. But the two following extracts from a speech of Mr. Burke and of Lord North will, he presumes, be sufficient for the purpose. The

triotic objects on which his heart appears to have been most ardently engaged. Much of his individual sarcasm might perhaps have been spared with advantage—and especially the whole of his personal assaults upon the character and

The first ensuing is part of a speech delivered by the former gentleman.

“Where then shall we look for the origin of this relaxation of the laws and all government? How comes this JUNIUS to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to range uncontrouled, unpunished, through the land? The myrmidons of the court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or you, or you. No: they disdain such vermin, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one than he lays down another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and there was an end of his triumphs, not that he had not asserted many truths. Yes, Sir, there are in that composition many bold truths, by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom, with which I was struck. In these respects the North Briton is as much inferior to him, as in strength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected in this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both Houses of Parliament. Yes, he did make you his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouched, and still crouch, beneath his rage. Nor has he dreaded the terrors of your brow, Sir; he has attacked even you—he has—and I believe you have no reason to triumph in the encounter. In short, after carrying away our Royal Eagle in his pounces, and dashing him against a rock, he has laid you prostrate. King, Lords, and Commons are but the sport of his fury. Were he a member of this house, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger, by his penetration, by his vigour. Nothing would escape his vigilance and activity. Bad ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises nor threats induce him to conceal any thing from the public.”

The following is part of a speech delivered by Lord North.

“When factious and discontented men have brought things to this pass, why should we be surprised at the difficulty of bringing libellers to justice? Why should we wonder that the great boar of the wood, this mighty JUNIUS has broke through the toils and foiled the hunters? Though there may be at present no spear that will reach him, yet he may be some time or other caught. At any rate he will be exhausted with fruitless efforts; those tusks which he has been whetting to wound and gnaw the constitution will be worn out. Truth will at last prevail. The public will see and feel that he has either advanced false facts, or reasoned falsely from true principles; and that he has owed his escape to the spirit of the times

motives of the king. Aware as he is of the arguments in favour of occasionally attacking the character of the chief magistrate, as urged by JUNIUS himself in his Preface post p. 26, and in Vol. II. p. 69, he still thinks that no possible circumstances could justify so gross a disrespect and indecency; that no principle of the constitution supports it, and that every advantage it was calculated to produce, might have been obtained in an equal degree and to an equal extent, by animadverting upon the conduct of the king's ministers, instead of censuring that of the king in person. In the volumes before us the editor is ready to acknowledge that these kinds of paragraphs seem at times not altogether free from, what ought never to enter the pages of a writer on national subjects—individual spleen and enmity. But well may we forgive such trivial aberrations of the heart, in the midst of the momentous matter these volumes are well known to contain, the important principles they inculcate; and especially under the recollection that but for the letters of JUNIUS, the Commons of England might still have been without a knowledge of the transactions of the House of Commons, consisting of their parliamentary representatives—have been exposed to the absurd and obnoxious harassment of parliamentary arrests, upon a violation of privileges undefined and incapable of being appealed against—defrauded of their estates upon an arbitrary and interested claim of the crown—

times, not to the justice of his cause. The North Briton, the most flagitious libel of its day, would have been equally secure, had it been as powerfully supported. But the press had not then overflowed the land with its black gall, and poisoned the minds of the people. Political writers had some shame left; they had some reverence for the Crown, some respect for the name of Majesty. Nor were there any members of Parliament hardy enough to harangue in defence of libels. Lawyers could hardly be brought to plead for them. But the scene is now entirely changed. Without doors, within doors, the same abusive strains prevail. Libels find patrons in both houses of Parliament as well as in Westminster Hall. Nay, they pronounce libels on the very judges. They pervert the privilege of this house to the purposes of faction. They catch and swallow the breath of the inconstant multitude, because, I suppose, they take their voice, which is now that of libels, to be the voice of God."

and deprived of the constitutional right of a jury to consider the question of law as well as that of fact. To the steady patriotism of the late Mr. Fox is the nation solely indebted for a direct legislative decision upon this last important point;—but the ground was previously cleared by the letters before us; it is not often that a judge has dared openly to controvert this right since the clear and unanswerable argument of JUNIUS upon this subject, in opposition to the arbitrary and illegal doctrine of Lord Mansfield, as urged in the case of the King against Woodfall¹:—an argument which seems to have silenced every objection, to have convinced every party, and without which perhaps even the zeal and talents of Mr. Fox himself might have been exercised in vain.

But, after all, who or what was JUNIUS? this *shadow of a name*, who thus shot his unerring arrows from an impenetrable concealment, and punished without being perceived? The question is natural; and it has been repeated almost without intermission, from the appearance of his first letter. It is not unnatural, moreover, from the pertinacity with which he has at all times eluded discovery, that the vanity of many political writers of inferior talents should have induced them to lay an indirect claim to his Letters, and especially after the danger of responsibility had considerably ceased. Yet while the Editor of the present impression does not undertake to communicate the real name of JUNIUS, he pledges himself to prove, from incontrovertible evidence, afforded by the private letters of JUNIUS himself during the period in question, in connexion with other documents, that not one of these pretenders has ever had the smallest right to the distinction which some of them have ardently coveted.

These private and confidential letters, addressed to the late Mr. Woodfall, are now for the first time made public by his son, who is in possession of the author's autographs²;

¹ See this case more particularly detailed in note to Preface, p. 10, and note to p. 191 of this Vol.

² There must have been some misunderstanding either of the *extent* of the question, or the *nature* of the answer in that part of a conversation which

and from the various facts and anecdotes they disclose, not only in relation to this extraordinary character, but to other characters as well, they cannot fail of being highly interesting to the political world. To have published these letters at an earlier period would have been a gross breach of trust and decorum: the term of trust, however, seems at length to have expired; most of the parties have paid the debt of nature, and should any be yet living, the length of time which has since elapsed has so completely blunted the aspe-

which Mr. Campbell, in his *Life of Hugh Boyd*, states to have occurred between Mr. H. S. Woodfall, (editor and one of the proprietors of the *Public Advertiser*,) and himself, in relation to the preservation of these autographs. "I proceeded," says Mr. Campbell, "to ask him if he had preserved any of the manuscripts of JUNIUS? He said *he had* not." p. 164. The veracity of Mr. H. S. Woodfall is well known to have been unimpeachable; and it is by no means the intention of the editor to suspect that of Mr. Campbell. It is probable that Mr. Woodfall understood the question to be whether he had *regularly* preserved the manuscripts of JUNIUS, or had preserved any of the manuscripts of JUNIUS which had publicly appeared *under that signature*? No man, not even Mr. Campbell himself could have suspected Mr. Woodfall to have been guilty of a wilful falsehood; nor can any advantage be assigned or even conceived that could possibly have resulted from such a falsehood, had it taken place.

It is equally extraordinary that Mr. Campbell, in this same conversation, should represent Mr. Woodfall as saying that "as to the story about Hamilton quoting JUNIUS to the late Duke of Richmond, *he knew* it to be a misconception." In regard to the story itself, Woodfall knew it to be founded in fact from Hamilton's own relation—and has repeatedly mentioned it as such; but he may have meant that the story *as told by Mr. Campbell*, was a misconception.

In effect the late Duke of Richmond himself distinctly informed the son of the late Mr. Woodfall, that such a communication with Hamilton had taken place, while his Grace was riding with Sir John Peachey, afterwards Lord Selsea, in the park at Goodwood, though he could not at that distance of time recollect the particular letter to which it referred. The clue to the mystery is that Mr. Hamilton was acquainted with the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall, and used occasionally to call at his office; whence it is highly probable that Mr. Woodfall had shewn him or detailed to him a Letter from JUNIUS then just received, and intended for publication on a certain day. Hamilton alluded to the general purport of this letter, on the day on which it was to have been published as though he had just read it; when to the astonishment of his Grace and Sir John Peachey, to whom he thus mentioned it, no such letter appeared, though it did appear the next day or the day after.

urity of the strictures they contain, that they could scarcely object to so remote a publication of them. JUNIUS, in the career of his activity, was the man of the people; and when the former can receive no injury from the disclosure, the latter have certainly a claim to every information that can be communicated concerning him.

It was on the 28th of April, in the year 1767, that the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall, received amidst other letters from a great number of correspondents for the use of the Public Advertiser of which he was a proprietor, the first public address of this celebrated writer. He had not then assumed the name, or rather written under the signature of JUNIUS; nor did he always indeed assume a signature of any kind. When he did so, however, his signatures were diversified, and the chief of them were Mnemon and Atticus, Lucius, Junius, and Brutus. Under the first he sarcastically opposed the ministry upon the subject of the Nullum Tempus bill, which involved the celebrated dispute concerning the transfer on the part of the crown of the Duke of Portland's estate of the forest of Inglewood, and the manor and castle of Carlisle, to Sir James Lowther, son-in-law of Lord Bute, upon the plea that these lands, which formerly belonged to the crown, had not been duly specified in king William's grant of them to the Portland family; and that hence, although they had been in the Portland family for nearly seventy years, they of right belonged to the crown still. The letters signed Atticus and Brutus relate chiefly to the growing disputes with the American colonies: and those subscribed Lucius exclusively to the outrageous dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his post of governor of Virginia.

The name of Mnemon seems to have been nearly taken up at hazard. That of Atticus was unquestionably assumed from the author's own opinion of the purity of his style, an opinion in which the public universally concurred: and the three remaining signatures of Lucius, Junius, and Brutus were obviously deduced from a veneration for the memory of the celebrated Roman patriot, who united these three names in his own.

There were also a variety of other names occasionally assumed by this fertile political writer, to answer particular purposes, or more completely to conceal himself, and carry forward his extensive design. That of Philo-Junius, he has avowed to the public, in the authorized edition of the Letters of JUNIUS: but besides this they have yet to recognize him under the mask of Poplicola, Domitian, Vindex, and a variety of others, as the subjoined pages will sufficiently testify.

The most popular of our author's letters anterior to those published with the signature of JUNIUS in 1769, were those subscribed Atticus and Lucius; to the former of which the few letters signed Brutus seem to have been little more than auxiliary, and are consequently not polished with an equal degree of attention. These letters, in point of time, preceded those with the signature of JUNIUS by a few weeks: they are certainly written with admirable spirit and perspicuity, and are entitled to all the popularity they acquired:—yet they are not perhaps possess of more merit than our author's letters signed Mnemon. They nevertheless deserve a more minute attention from their superior celebrity. The proofs of their having been composed by the writer denominated JUNIUS are incontestible: the manner, the phraseology, the sarcastic, exprobratory style, independently of any other evidence, sufficiently identify them¹. These therefore are now added,

¹ That those under the signature of Lucius were early and generally traced to the pen of JUNIUS even by writers of the opposite party, may be fairly inferred from the following passage in a letter in the Public Advertiser of the date of April 27th, 1769, signed “A long forgotten correspondent” intended as an antidote to the poison that JUNIUS was supposed to be propagating.

“In the warm and energetic, though keen and sarcastic style of JUNIUS, we may, I think, easily descry the LUCIUS, long dreaded by his opponents; and from the warmth of his sentiments, if they do indeed correspond with his expressions, we may expect a future BRUTUS, a patriotic character much to be dreaded by all those who, content with the portion of power now in the hands of government, (if government had the spirit to exert it) wish not to see the people, by their factious and unmeaning rage, provoke their long-suffering Sovereign to throw real chains over them, and correct their madness with stripes and hunger, the proper cure for phrenzy, the only specific for such headstrong and vicious insanity.”

together with such others whose genuineness is equally indisputable, to the acknowledged letters of JUNIUS, to render his productions complete¹.

The celebrity acquired by these earlier letters of JUNIUS, under the signature of Lucius, induced several other writers of the same period to adopt the same signature; and hence Lucius, and Lucius Verus are common signatures in the Public Advertiser during the years 1769, 1770. But there is no more reason to suppose that JUNIUS himself ever had recourse to this signature than he had to that of Atticus, or Brutus, after the assumption of this last appellative. He would not degrade the name of Lucius by an unfinished production, and to all that he regarded as *finished* he continued to subscribe JUNIUS as a still more popular signature.

An attempt, also, for the same reason, was once made by another correspondent, to publish under the signature of JUNIUS; but the letter was refused to be inserted with that name by the printer, who signified his refusal in one of his notices to his correspondents. Yet it is curious to observe, that one or two spurious letters under the signature of Philo-Junius, found their way, as genuine epistles, into the P. A. (probably from casual absence of the editor) if we may determine from the following statement written immediately after JUNIUS's public avowal that the letters subscribed Philo-Junius were his own productions.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

A paragraph having appeared in your paper of Saturday last, intimating that "you have the author's consent to declare that the letters published in that paper under the signature of Philo-Junius are written by JUNIUS," I take the liberty of acquainting you and the public, that during the course of the years 1768 and 1769 several letters under that signature were written and inserted in the Public Advertiser, not by JUNIUS, but by

Your humble servant,

Oct. 21, 1771.

G. F.

"[The printer presumes not to doubt the assertion of his correspondent, though it is not possible for him to charge his memory with the circumstances at this distance of time.]" The printer might, however, with great safety have denied this assertion of G. F. which on the face of it bears evident marks of inaccuracy, as the first letter of JUNIUS published in the genuine edition bears date January 21, 1769, and the only one under that signature printed in 1768 is Miscellaneous Letter, No. LII. which did not receive support from an auxiliary signature of any kind. The fact is that the only Philo-Junius not genuine is the one here more particularly alluded to. Philo-Junius, No. XXXI. was originally published in the Public Advertiser under the signature of Moderatus.

¹ When the late Mr. Woodfall, so early as the summer of 1769, had an intention of re-publishing such of the Letters of JUNIUS as had already appeared in the Public Advertiser, the author, in Private Letter, No. 7, observed

It is no objection to their being genuine that they were omitted by JUNIUS in his own edition published by Mr. Woodfall:—there is a material difference between printing a complete edition of the letters of JUNIUS, and a complete edition of the letters of the writer of this name. The first was the main object of JUNIUS himself, and it was not necessary therefore, that he should have extended it to letters composed by him under any other signature, excepting indeed those of Philo-Junius, which it was expedient for him to avow; the second is the direct design of the edition before us;—and it would be inconsistent with it to suppress any of his letters, under what signature soever they may have appeared, that possess sufficient interest to excite the attention of the public.

The first of the letters (signed Atticus) was written in the beginning of August, 1768. It takes a general, and by no means an uncandid, survey of the state of the nation at that period, and particularly in regard to its funded property, the alarming and dangerous depression of which, from the still hostile appearance of France, the prospect of a rupture with the American colonies, the wretchedness of the public finances, and the imbecility of the existing administration, struck the writer so forcibly as to induce him, as he tells us, to transfer his property from the funds to what he conceived the more solid security of landed estate. The conclusion of this letter exhibits so much of the essential style and manner of JUNIUS, that it has every claim to be copied in this place as affording an internal proof of identity of pen.

“We are arrived at that point when new taxes either produce nothing, or defeat the old ones, and when new

observed to the printer, “Do with my letters exactly what you please. I should think that to make a better figure than Newberry, some others of my letters may be added, and so throw out an hint, that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan, I shall point out those which I would recommend; for, you know, I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all.”

duties only operate as a prohibition: yet these are the times when every ignorant boy thinks himself fit to be a minister. Instead of attendance to objects of national importance, our worthy governors are contented to divide their time between private pleasures and ministerial intrigues. Their activity is just equal to the persecution of a prisoner in the King's Bench, and to the honourable struggle of providing for their dependents. If there be a good man in the king's service they dismiss him of course; and when bad news arrives, instead of uniting to consider of a remedy, their time is spent in accusing and reviling one another. Thus the debate concludes in some half misbegotten measure, which is left to execute itself. *Away they go: one retires to his country house; another is engaged at an horse race; a third has an appointment with a prostitute;—and as to their country, they leave her, like a cast off mistress, to perish under the diseases they have given her."*

It was just at this period that the very extraordinary step occurred of the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his government of Virginia, for the sole purpose, as it should seem, of creating a post for the Earl of Hillsborough's intimate friend Lord Botetourt, who had completely ruined himself by gambling and extravagance. This post had been expressly given to Sir Jeffery for life, as a reward for his past services in America, and it was punctiliously stipulated that a personal residence would be dispensed with. It was an atrocity well worthy of public attack and condemnation; and the keen vigilance of JUNIUS, which seems first to have traced it out, hastened to expose it to the public in all its indecency and outrage, and with the warmth of a personal friendship for the veteran hero. The subject being of a different description from that he had engaged in under the signature of Atticus, he assumed a new name, and for the first time sallied forth under that of Lucius, subscribed to a letter addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, minister for the American department, and published in the Public Advertiser Aug. 10th, 1768. A vindication, or rather an apology, was entered into, by three

or four correspondents under different signatures, but almost every one of whom was regarded by JUNIUS, and indeed by the public at large, as the Earl of Hillsborough himself, or some individual writer under his immediate controul, assuming a mere diversity of mask the better to accomplish the purpose of a defence. Lucius Junius followed up the contest without sparing,—the minister became ashamed of his conduct, and Sir Jeffery, within a few weeks after his dismissal and the resignation of two regiments which he commanded, was restored to the command of one of them, and appointed to that of another; and in May, 1776, was created a peer of the realm, which the Duke of Grafton had refused him, under the strange and impolitic assertion that he had not fortune enough to maintain such a dignity with the splendour it required. The sarcastic remark of Lucius upon this observation of his Grace, is entitled to attention, as identifying him with JUNIUS in his peculiar severity of reproach.

“ The Duke of Grafton’s idea of the proper object of a British peerage differs very materially from mine. His grace, in the true spirit of business, looks for nothing but an opulent fortune; meaning, I presume, the fortune which can purchase, as well as maintain a title. We understand his grace, and know who dictated that article. He has declared the terms on which Jews, gamesters, pedlars, and contractors (if they have sense enough to take the hint) may rise without difficulty into British peers. There was a time indeed, though not within his grace’s memory, when titles were the reward of public virtue, and when the crown did not think its revenue ill employed in contributing to support the honours it had bestowed. It is true his grace’s family derive *their* wealth and greatness from a different origin;—from a system which it seems he is determined to revive. His confession is frank at least, and well becomes the candour of a young man. I dare say, that if either his grace or your lordship had had the command of a seven years’ war in America, you would have taken care that poverty, however honourable, should not have been an objection to your

advancement;—you would not have stood in the predicament of Sir Jeffery Amherst, who is refused a title of honour because he did not create a fortune equal to it at the expense of the public.”

He is not less severe upon Lord Hillsborough in a succeeding letter; and the editor extracts the following passage for the same purpose he has introduced the preceding.

“ That you are a civil, polite person is true. Few men understand the little morals better or observe the great ones less than your lordship. You can bow and smile in an honest man’s face, while you pick his pocket. These are the virtues of a court, in which your education has not been neglected. In any other school you might have learned that simplicity and integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherst was fighting the battles of his country, while you, my Lord, the darling child of prudence and urbanity, were practising the generous arts of a courtier, and securing an honourable interest in the antichamber of a favourite.”

Having thus signally triumphed in the affair of Sir Jeffery Amherst, our invisible state-satyrst now returned to the subject he had commenced under the signature of Atticus, and pursued it in three additional letters, with the same signature, from the beginning of October till the close of November, in the same year; offering a few general remarks upon collateral topics in two or three letters signed Brutus. The characteristics of JUNIUS are here often as conspicuous as in any letters he ever wrote: it will be sufficient to confine ourselves to two passages, since two competent witnesses are as good as a thousand. The following is his description of the prime minister of the day.

“ When the Duke of Grafton first entered into office, it was the fashion of the times to suppose that young men might have wisdom without experience. They thought so themselves, and the most important affairs of this country were committed to the first trial of their abilities. His Grace had honourably flesht his maiden sword in the field of opposition, and had gone through all the discipline of the minority with credit. He dined at Wildman’s, railed at favourites, looked

up to Lord Chatham with astonishment, and was the declared advocate of Mr. Wilkes. It afterwards pleased his Grace to enter into administration with his friend Lord Rockingham, and, in a very little time, it pleased his Grace to abandon him. He then accepted of the treasury upon terms which Lord Temple had disdained. For a short time his submission to Lord Chatham was unlimited. He could not answer a private letter without Lord Chatham's permission. I presume he was then learning his trade, for he soon set up for himself. Until he declared himself the minister, his character had been but little understood. From that moment a system of conduct, directed by passion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without solidity or judgment. One day he desponds and threatens to resign. The next, he finds his blood heated, and swears to his friends he is determined to go on. In his public measures we have seen no proof either of ability or consistency. The stamp-act had been repealed (no matter how unwisely) under the preceding administration. The colonies had reason to triumph, and were returning to their good humour. The point was decided, when this young man thought proper to revive it. Without either plan or necessity he adopts the spirit of Mr. Grenville's measures, and renews the question of taxation in a form more odious and less effectual than that of the law which had been repealed."

The following is his character of the members of the cabinet generally. "The school they were bred in taught them how to abandon their friends, without deserting their principles. There is a littleness even in their ambition; for money is their first object. Their professed opinions upon some great points are so different from those of the party, with which they are now united, that the council-chamber is become a scene of open hostilities. While the fate of Great Britain is at stake, these worthy counsellors dispute without decency, advise without sincerity, resolve without decision, and leave the measure to be executed by the man who voted against it. This, I conceive, is the last disorder of the state. The consultation meets but to disagree. Opposite medicines

are prescribed, and the last fixed on is changed by the hand that gives it."

The attention paid to these philippics, and the celebrity they had so considerably acquired, stimulated the author to new and additional exertions: and having in the beginning of the ensuing year completed another with more than usual elaboration and polish, which he seems to have intended as a kind of introductory address to the nation at large, he sent it forth under the name of JUNIUS, (a name he had hitherto assumed but once,) to the office of the Public Advertiser, in which journal it appeared on Saturday, January 21, 1769. The popularity expected by the author from this performance was more than accomplished; and what in some measure added to his fame, was a reply (for the Public Advertiser was equally open to all parties) from a real character of no small celebrity as a scholar, as well as a man of rank, Sir Wm. Draper; principally because the attack upon his Majesty's ministers had extended itself to Lord Granby, at that time commander in chief, for whom Sir William professed the most cordial esteem and friendship.

Sir Wm. Draper appears, to have been a worthy, and, on the whole, an independent man; and Lord Granby was perhaps the most honest and immaculate of his Majesty's ministers. JUNIUS did not begin the dispute with the former, and seems from a regard for his character, to have continued it unwillingly: "My answer," says he to him in his last letter¹, upon a second assault, and altogether without reason, "shall be short; for I write to you *with reluctance*, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence for ever!" At the latter he had only glanced incidentally, (for upon the whole he approved his conduct²), and seems rather to have done so from the company he consorted with, than from any gross misdeeds of his own. Nothing could therefore have been more improvident or impolitic than this attack of Sir Wm. Draper: if volunteered in favour of the ministry, it is impos-

¹ Letter xxv. Vol. I. p. 157.

² See his opinion of Lord Granby given under the name of Lucius, in Miscellaneous Letters of this writer, Vol. II. p. 160, as also in the note at the close of JUNIUS, Vol. I. p. 66.

sible for a defence to have been worse planned;—for by confining the vindication to the individual that was least accused, it tacitly admitted that the charges advanced against all the rest were well founded; while, if volunteered in favour of Lord Granby alone, it might easily have been anticipated by the writer that his visionary opponent would be hereby challenged to bring forward peccadillos which would otherwise never have been heard of, and that he would not fail at the same time, to scrutinize the character of Sir William himself, and to ascribe this act of precipitate zeal to an interested desire of additional promotion in the army. It was too much for Sir William to expect that JUNIUS would be hurried into an intemperate disclosure of his real name by a swaggering offer to measure swords with him; while the following rebuke was but a just retaliation for his challenge.

“Had you been originally and without provocation attacked by an anonymous writer, you would have some right to demand his name. But in this cause you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier. You were content to set your name in opposition to a man who would probably continue in concealment. You understood the terms upon which we were to correspond, and gave at least a tacit assent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character of JUNIUS, what possible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me if I insinuate to you, that you foresaw some honour in the apparent spirit of coming forward in person, and that you were not quite indifferent to the display of your literary qualifications?”

In reality JUNIUS, though a severe satirist, was not in his general temper a malevolent writer, nor an ungenerous man. No one has ever been more ready to admit the brilliant talents of Sir William Blackstone than himself, or to apply to his Commentaries for legal information, while reprobating his conduct in the unconstitutional expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the House of Commons. “If I were personally your enemy,” says he in his letter to him upon this subject, “I

should dwell with a malignant pleasure upon *those great and useful qualifications which you certainly possess*, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you the respect and esteem of your country. I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced: but having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself."

The rescue of General Gansel, by means of a party of guards, from the hands of the Sheriff's officers after they had arrested him for debt, was an outrage upon the law which well demanded castigation; and the attempt to quash this transaction on the part of the minister, instead of delivering the culprits over to the punishment they had merited, was an outrage of at least equal atrocity, and demanded equal reprobation. The severity with which the minister was repeatedly attacked by JUNIUS on this subject is still well known to many: but the reason is not yet known to any one perhaps, why he suddenly dropped this subject, after having positively declared in his letter of November 15, 1769, Vol. I. p. 185, "if the gentlemen, whose conduct is in question, are not brought to a trial, the Duke of Grafton shall hear from me again." From his Private Letters to Mr. Woodfall, we shall now learn that he was solely actuated in his forbearance by motives of humanity: "The only thing," says he, in a note alluding to this transaction, "that hinders my pushing the subject of my last letter, is really the fear of ruining that poor devil Gansel, and those other block-heads!"

In like manner having been betrayed by the first rumours of the day into what he afterwards found to have been too atrocious an opinion, and expressed himself with too indignant warmth upon the conduct of Mr. Vaughan in his well known attempt to purchase of the Duke of Grafton the reversion of a patent place in Jamaica, he hastened to make

¹ See Private Letters, No. 11.

him both publicly and privately all the reparation in his power. "I think myself obliged," says he, in a letter to the Duke of Grafton, "to do this justice to an injured man, because I was deceived by the appearances thrown out by your Grace, and have frequently spoken of his conduct with indignation. If he really be, what I think him, honest, though mistaken, he will be happy in recovering his reputation, though at the expense of his understanding¹." Vaughan himself had so high an opinion of our author's integrity, though a total stranger to him, that he entrusted him with his private papers upon the subject in question, which JUNIUS in return took care to employ to Vaughan's advantage².

From the extraordinary effect produced by his first letter under the signature of JUNIUS, he resolved to adhere to this signature exclusively, in all his subsequent letters, in which he took more than ordinary pains, and which alone he was desirous of being attributed to himself; while to other letters composed with less care, and merely explanatory of passages in his more finished addresses, or introduced for some other collateral purpose, he subscribed some random name which occurred to him at the moment. The letters of Philo-Junius are alone an exception to this remark. These he always intended to acknowledge; and in truth they are for the most part composed with so much of the peculiar style, and finished accuracy of the letters of JUNIUS, properly so called, that it would have required but little discernment to have regarded the two correspondents as the same person under different characters,—*idem et alter*—if JUNIUS himself had not at length admitted them to be his own productions, which he expressly did, in an authorized note from the printer, inserted in the Public Advertiser, October 19, 1771. "The auxiliary part of Philo-Junius," says he in his Preface, page

¹ Vol. I. p. 215.

² Compare his private letter to Woodfall, Dec. 12, 1769 No. 15. with his public letter to the Duke of Grafton, February 14, 1770, after he had examined these papers, and especially the passage, "You laboured then, by every species of false suggestion, and even by publishing counterfeit letters, &c." Vol. I. p. 215.

7, "was indispensably necessary to defend or explain particular passages in JUNIUS, in answer to plausible objections; but the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it." Yet whatever were the signatures he assumed, or the loose paragraphs he occasionally addressed to the public, without a signature of any kind, we have his own assertion, that from the time of his corresponding, as JUNIUS, with the editor of the Public Advertiser, he never wrote in any other news-paper. "I believe," says he, "I need not assure you that I have never written in any other paper since I began with yours;" Private Letter, No. 7. So also in another Private Letter, No. 13. "I sometimes change my signature; but could have no reason to *change the paper*; especially for one that does not circulate half as much as yours."

That he was not only a man of highly cultivated general talents and education, but had critically and successfully studied the language, the law, the constitution, and history of his native country is indubitable. Yet this is not all; the proofs are just as clear that he was also a man of independent fortune, that he moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately acquainted, from its first conception, with almost every public measure, every ministerial intrigue, and every domestic incident.

That he was a man of easy, if not of affluent circumstances, is unquestionable from the fact that he never could be induced in any way or shape to receive any acknowledgment from the proprietor of the Public Advertiser, for the great benefit and popularity he conferred on this paper by his writings, and to which he was fairly entitled. When the first genuine edition of his letters was on the point of publication, Mr. Woodfall again urged him either to accept half its profits, or to point out some public charity or other institution to which an equal sum might be presented. His reply to this request is contained in a paragraph of one of his Private Letters, No. 59, and confers credit on both the parties. "What you say about the profits is very handsome. I like to

deal with such men. As for myself be assured that *I am far above all pecuniary views*, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it, therefore; and let your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence: without it no man can be happy nor even honest." In this last sentence he reasoned from the sphere of life in which he was accustomed to move; and, confining it to this sphere, the transactions of every day shew us that he reasoned correctly. It is an additional proof, as well of his affluence, as of his generosity, that not long after the commencement of his correspondence with the printer of the Public Advertiser, he wrote to him as follows: "For the matter of assistance, be assured that, if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it;—in point of money be assured you shall never suffer¹." In perfect and honourable consonance with which, when the printer was at length involved in a prosecution in consequence of JUNIUS's letter to the King, he wrote to him as follows: "If your affair should come to trial, and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls particularly on yourself: for I understand you are engaged with other proprietors. Some way or other *you* shall be reimbursed²."

"As you have told us," says Sir W. Draper, in his last letter to JUNIUS, "of your importance; and that you are a person of *rank* and *fortune*, and above a *common* bribe, you may, in all probability, be not unknown to his Lordship (Earl of Shelburne) who can satisfy you of the truth of what I say³." Sir William alludes, in this passage, to a short public note of JUNIUS to the printer of the Public Advertiser, addressed in consequence of some verses which had just appeared in that paper, entitled "The tears of Sedition on the death of JUNIUS;" in which he observes: "It is true I have refused offers which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or vir-

¹ Private Letter, No. 6. dated Aug. 6, 1769.

² Private Letter, No. 19.

³ Vol. I. p. 156.

tue in me, I can only affirm that *I am in earnest*, because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry is driving this country to destruction; and *you*, I think, Sir, may be satisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe¹." Sir William sneers at the appeal, and treats it as the mere unfounded boast of a man of arrogance and invisibility: but the reader now sees sufficiently that it had a solid foundation to rest upon.

That JUNIUS moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately and confidentially connected, either directly or indirectly, with all the public offices of government, is, if possible, still clearer than that he was a man of independent property; for the feature that peculiarly characterized him, at the time of his writing, and that cannot even now be contemplated without surprise, was the facility with which he became acquainted with every ministerial manœuvre, whether public or private, from almost the very instant of its conception. At the first moment the partisans of the prime minister were extolling his official integrity and virtue, in not only resisting the terms offered by Mr. Vaughan for the purchase of the reversion of a patent-place in Jamaica, but in commencing a prosecution against him for thus attempting to corrupt him, JUNIUS, in his letter of Nov. 29, 1769, Vol. I. p. 185, exposed this affectation of coyness, as he calls it, by proving that the minister was not only privy to, but a party concerned in, the sale of another patent place, though the former had often been disposed of before in a manner somewhat if not altogether similar. The particulars of this transaction are given in his letter to the Duke of Grafton, Dec. 12, 1769, Vol. I. p. 187, and in his private note to Mr. Woodfall of the same date, No. 15. The rapidity with which the affair of General Gansel reached him has been already noticed. In his letter to the Duke of Bedford he narrates facts which could scarcely be known but to persons immediately acquainted with the family. And when the printer was

¹ See Miscellaneous Letters, No. LII. Vol. II. p. 311.

threatened with a prosecution in consequence of this letter, he says to him in a private note, "it is clearly my opinion that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him in case he should think of bringing you before the House of Lords. I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave¹." He was equally acquainted with the domestic concerns of Lord Hartford's family². Of a Mr. Swinney, a correspondent of the printer's, he observes in another confidential letter, "*That Swinney is a wretched but a dangerous fool: he had the impudence to go to Lord Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of JUNIUS—take care of him*³." This anecdote is not a little curious: the fact was true, and occurred but a day or two before the letter was written: but how JUNIUS, unless he had been Lord Sackville himself, should have been so soon acquainted with it, baffles all conjecture. In reality several persons to whom this transaction has been related, connecting it with other circumstances of a similar tendency, have ventured, but too precipitately, to attribute the letters of JUNIUS to his Lordship⁴.

¹ Private Letter, No. 10.

² The following are two of the paragraphs alluded to in Private Letter, No. 42.

The Earl of Hartford is most honourably employed as terrier to find out the clergyman that married the Duke of Cumberland, an errand well fitted to the man. He might, however, be much better employed in marrying his daughters at the public expense. Witness the promise of an Irish peerage to Mr. S—t, &c. &c.

Nobody is so vociferous as the Earl of Hartford on the subject of the late unprecedented Marriage!

³ Private Letter, No. 5.

⁴ In the Miscellaneous Letters, No. VII. Vol. II. p. 180, the reader will meet with the following passage, pretty conclusively shewing the little ground there ever has been for any such opinion. "I believe the best thing I can do will be to consult with Lord G. Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here; and I know he loves to be stationed in the rear as well as myself." The letter from which the above is an extract, independently of its containing the style and sentiments of JUNIUS, is thus additionally brought home to him by the printer's custom-

His secret intelligence respecting public transactions is as extraordinary. The accuracy with which he first dragged to general notice the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his governorship of Virginia has been already glanced at. "You may assure the public," says he, in a Private Letter, Jan. 17, 1771, "that a squadron of four ships of the line is ordered to be got ready with *all possible expedition* for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry. Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance *I* give you, that every man in administration looks upon war as inevitable¹."

But it would be endless to detail every instance of early and accurate information upon political subjects with which his public and private letters abound. In many cases he was able to indicate even to the printer of the Public Advertiser himself the real names of those who corresponded with him under fictitious signatures. "Your Veridicus," says he, in one letter, "is Mr. Whitworth². I assure you I have not confided in him³." "Your Lycurgus," he observes in another letter⁴, "is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts upon town."

Thus widely informed, and applying the information he was possessed of with an unsparing hand, to purposes of general exposure in every instance of political delinquency, it cannot but be supposed that JUNIUS must have excited a host of enemies in every direction, and that his safety, perhaps his existence, depended alone upon his concealment. Of this he was sufficiently sensible. In his last letter to Sir

ary acknowledgment in the P. A. being followed by the subjoined observation: "Our friend and correspondent C. will always find the utmost attention paid to his favours."

¹ Private Letter, No. 28. The knowledge of this preparation was communicated four days before the meeting of parliament: the war however did not take place; but the preparation is now known to have been a fact, the ministry being themselves fearful that the temper of parliament would have forced them into hostilities, from which in truth they very narrowly escaped. See note to the Private Letter of this No.

² Richard Whitworth, Esq. M. P. for Stafford.

³ Private Letter, No. 6.

⁴ Id. No. 5.

Wm. Draper, who had endeavoured by every means to stimulate him to a disclosure of himself, he observes, "As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country, though I may be indifferent about yours. Though you would *fight*, there are others who would *assassinate*¹." To the same effect is the following passage in a confidential letter to Mr. Woodfall. "I must be more cautious than ever: I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days; or, if I did, they would attain me by bill²." On many occasions, therefore, notwithstanding all the calmness and intrepidity he affected in his public letters, it is not to be wondered at that he should betray some feelings of apprehension in his confidential intercourse. In one of his Private Letters, indeed, he observes, "As to me, be assured it is not in the nature of things that they (the Cavendish family) or you or any body else should ever know me, unless I make myself known: all arts, or enquiries, or rewards, would be equally ineffectual³." But in other letters he seems not a little afraid of detection or surmise. "Tell me candidly," he says, at an early period of his correspondence with Mr. Woodfall under the signature of JUNIUS, "whether you know or suspect who I am⁴." "You must not write to me again," he observes in another letter, "but be assured I will never desert you⁵." "Upon no account, nor for any reason whatever are you to write to me until I give you notice⁶." "Change to the Somerset Coffee-house, and let no mortal know the alteration. I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction. Act honourably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me⁷."

The Somerset Coffee-house formed only one of a great variety of places, at which answers and other parcels from the printer of the Public Advertiser were ordered to be left. No plan indeed could be better devised for secrecy than that

¹ Vol. I. p. 159.

² Private Letter, No. 41.

³ Id. No. 10.

⁴ Id. No. 3.

⁵ Id. No. 18.

⁶ Id. No. 47.

⁷ Id. No. 41.

by which this correspondence was maintained. A common name, such as was by no means likely to excite any peculiar attention, was first chosen by JUNIUS and a common place of deposit indicated:—the parcels from JUNIUS himself were sent direct to the printing-office, and whenever a parcel or letter in return was waiting for him, it was announced in the notices to correspondents by such signals as “N. E. C.”—“a letter,” “Vindex shall be considered,” “C. in the usual place,” “an old Correspondent shall be attended to,” the introductory C. being a little varied from that commonly used; or by a line of Latin poetry. “Don’t always use,” says our author, “the same signal: any absurd Latin verse will answer the purpose¹.” And when the answer implied a mere negative or affirmative, it was communicated in the newspaper by a simple *yes* or *no*. The names of address more commonly assumed were Mr. William Middleton, or Mr. John Fretly, and the more common places of address were the bar of the Somerset Coffee-house as stated above,

¹ Private Letter, No. 43.—As instances of these signals of different kinds the reader may accept the following, taken from the Public Advertiser according to their dates.

August 12, 1771. A Correspondent may rest assured that his directions ever have been, and ever will be, strictly attended to.

September	13.	C.
	17.	C.
	21.	C.
	27.	C.
October	19.	C.
November	5.	C.
	8.	C.
	12.	Vindex shall be considered.
	21.	Dic quibus in terris, et mihi cris magnus Apollo.
	26.	Quid rides? de TE fabula narratur.
	28.	Received.
	30.	—— dicere verum
		Quid vetat?
December	5.	Jam NOVA progenies cœlo dimittitur alto.
	6.	Received.
		Quis te MAGNE CATO tacitum?
	17.	Infandum, REGINA! jubes renovare dolorem

of the New Exchange, or Munday's in Maiden Lane, the waiters of which were occasionally feed¹ for their punctuality. But these too were varied for other names and places of abode as circumstances might dictate.

By what conveyance JUNIUS obtained his letters and parcels from the places at which they were left for him is not very clearly ascertained. From the passage quoted from his Private Letter, No. 10, as also from the express declaration in the Dedication to his own edition of his letters, that he was at that time "the sole depository of his own secret," it should seem that he had also been uniformly his own messenger: yet in his Private Letter of January 18th, 1772, he observes, "the gentleman who transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night²." In truth the difficulty, and danger of his constantly performing his own errand must have been extreme; and it is more reasonable therefore to suppose that he employed some person on whom he could place an implicit reliance; while to avoid the apparent contradiction between such a fact and that of his affirming that he was the sole depository of his own secret, it is only necessary to conceive at the same time that the person thus confidentially employed was not entrusted with the full scope and object of his agency³. He sometimes, as we learn from his own testimony, employed a common chairman as his messenger⁴, and perhaps this, after all, was the method most usually resorted to.

That a variety of schemes were invented and actually in

¹ Private Letter, No. 39.

² Private Letter, No. 51.

³ Mr. Jackson, the present respectable proprietor of the Ipswich Journal, was at this time in the employment of the late Mr. Woodfall, and he observed to the editor, in September last, that he once saw a tall Gentleman dressed in a light coat with bag and sword, throw into the office door opening in Ivy Lane, a letter of JUNIUS's, which he picked up and immediately followed the bearer of it into St. Paul's Church-yard, where he got into a hackney coach and drove off. But whether this was "the gentleman who transacted the conveyancing part" or JUNIUS himself, it is impossible to ascertain.

⁴ See Private Letters, No. 58 and 65 note.

motion to detect him there can be no doubt; but the extreme vigilance he at all times evinced, and the honourable forbearance of Mr. Woodfall, enabled him to baffle every effort, and to persevere in his concealment to the last. "Your letter," says he in one of his private notes, "was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it¹."

On another occasion his alarm was excited in consequence of various letters addressed to him at the printing-office, with a view as he suspected of leading to a disclosure either of his person or abode. "I return you," says he in reply, "the letters you sent me yesterday. A man who can write neither common English, nor spell, is hardly worth attending to. It is probably a trap for me: I should be glad to know what the fool means. If he writes again, open his letter, and if it contain any thing worth my knowing, send it: otherwise not. Instead of 'C. in the usual place' say only 'a letter' when you have occasion to write to me again. I shall understand you²."

Some apprehension he seems to have suffered, as already observed, from the impertinent curiosity of Swinney; but his resentment was chiefly roused by that of David Garrick, who appears from his own account, and from intelligence on which he fully relied, to have been pertinacious in his attempts to discover him. For three weeks or a month, he could scarcely ever write to Mr. Woodfall without cautioning him to be specially on his guard against Garrick: and under this impression alone, he once changed his address³. He wrote to Garrick a private note of severe castigation through the medium of the printer, which the latter, from an idea that it was unnecessarily acrimonious, resubmitted to his consideration with a view of dissuading him from sending⁴ it, upon which our author desired him to tell Garrick personally, to desist or he would be amply revenged upon him. "As it is important," says he, "to deter him

¹ Private Letter, No. 58.

² Id. No. 12.

³ Id. No. 41.

⁴ Compare Private Letter, No. 41. with No. 43. The letter to Garrick will be found in the former of these.

from meddling, I desire you will tell him I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from JUNIUS would destroy him¹."

It is not impossible to form a plausible guess at the age of JUNIUS, from a passage in one of his Private Letters; an enquiry, which, though otherwise of little or no consequence, is rendered in some measure important, as a test to determine the validity of the claims that have been laid to his writings by different candidates or their friends. The passage referred to occurs in his letter to Woodfall, dated Nov. 27, 1771; "after *long experience of the world*," says he, "I affirm before God I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy²." Now when this declaration is coupled with the two facts, that he made it under the repeated promise and intention of speedily disclosing himself to his correspondent³, and that the correspondent thus schooled, by a moral axiom gleaned from his own "*long experience of the world*," was at this very time something more than thirty years of age; it seems absurd to suppose that JUNIUS could be much less than fifty, or that he affected an age he had not actually attained.

There is another point in the history of his life, during his appearance as a public writer, which for the same reason must not be suffered to pass by without observation, although otherwise it might be scarcely entitled to notice; and that is, that during a great part of this time, from January, 1769, to January, 1772, he uniformly resided in London, or its immediate vicinity, and that he never quitted his stated habitation for a longer period than a few weeks. This too, we may collect from his private correspondence, compared with his public labours. No man but he, who, with a thorough knowledge of our author's style, undertakes to examine all the numbers of the Public Advertiser for the three years in question, can have any idea of the immense fatigue and trouble he submitted to by the composition of other letters,

¹ Private Letter, No. 43.

² Id. No. 44.

³ Id. No. 41.

under other signatures, in order to support the pre-eminent pretensions and character of JUNIUS, attacked as it was by a multiplicity of writers in favour of administration, to whom, as JUNIUS, he did not chuse to make any reply whatever. Surely JUNIUS himself, when he first undertook the office of public political censor, could by no means foresee the labour with which he was about to encumber himself. And instead of wondering that he should have disappeared at the distance of about five years, we ought much rather to be surprised that he should have persevered through half this period with a spirit at once so indefatigable and invincible. JUNIUS had no time for remote excursions, nor often for relaxation, even in the vicinity of the metropolis itself.

Yet from his Private Letters we could almost collect a journal of his absences, if not an itinerary of his little tours: for he does not appear to have left London at any time without some notice to the printer, either of his intention, or of the fact itself upon his return home; independently of which the frequency and regularity of his correspondence seldom allowed of distant travel. "I have been out of town," says he, in his letter of Nov. 8, 1769, "*for three weeks; and though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it*¹."—On another occasion, "I have been *some days* in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter until this night²:" and again, "I must see proof-sheets of the Dedication and Preface; and, these, if at all, I must see before the end of next week³." In like manner, "I want rest most severely, and am going to find it in the country *for a few days*⁴."

The last political letter that ever issued under the signature of JUNIUS was addressed to Lord Camden. It appeared in the Public Advertiser for Jan. 21, 1772, and followed the publication of his long and elaborate address to Lord Mansfield upon the illegal bailing of Eyre; and was designed to stimulate the noble earl to a renewal of the contest which

¹ Private Letter, No. 11.

² Id. No. 7.

³ Id. No. 45.

⁴ Id. No. 48.

he had commenced with the chief justice towards the close of the preceding session of parliament. It possesses the peculiarity of being the only encomiastic letter that ever fell from his pen under the signature of JUNIUS. Yet the panegyric bestowed was not for the mere purpose of instigating Lord Camden to the attack in question. There is sufficient evidence in his Private Letters that JUNIUS had a very high, as well as a very just opinion of the integrity of this nobleman; and an ardent desire that the estimate he had formed of his integrity should be known to the world at large. In the whole course of his political creed there seems to have been but one point upon which they differed, and that was the doctrine assented to by his Lordship, that the crown possesses a power in case of very urgent necessity, of suspending the operation of an act of the legislature. It is a mere speculative doctrine, and JUNIUS only incidentally alluded to it in a letter upon a very different subject¹. The disagreement upon this point seems eagerly to have been caught at, however, by another correspondent in the Public Advertiser, who chose the signature of Scævola, apparently for the express purpose of involving the political satirist in a dispute with his lordship. "Scævola," observes he in a private letter, "I see is determined to make me an enemy to Lord Camden. If it be not wilful malice, I beg you will signify to him, that when I originally mentioned Lord Camden's declaration about the corn bill, it was without any view of discussing that doctrine, and only as an instance of a singular opinion maintained by a man of great learning and integrity. Such an instance was necessary to the plan of my letter²." And again, shortly afterwards, finding that the communication had not been received as it ought to have been, "I should not trouble you or myself about that blockhead Scævola, but that his absurd fiction of *my* being Lord Camden's enemy has done harm. Every fool can do mischief, therefore signify to him what I said³." Not satis-

¹ Letter LIX. Vol. II. p. 87. ³ Id. No. 46.

² Private Letter, No. 45.

fied however with this hint to the printer, he chose, at the same time, under the subordinate character of Philo-Junius, to settle the point, and preclude all possibility of altercation by an address to the public, that should dexterously mark out this single difference in a mere speculative opinion; and while it amply defended the view he had taken of the subject, should evince such an evident approbation of his Lordship's general conduct, as could not fail of being gratifying to him. This letter appeared in the Public Advertiser, Oct. 15, 1771¹.

Lord Camden, however, was not induced by this earnest attempt and last letter of JUNIUS to renew his attack upon Lord Mansfield; yet this was not the reason, or at least not the sole or primary reason for JUNIUS's discontinuing to write. It has already been observed, that so early as July, 1769, he began to entertain thoughts of dropping a character and signature which must have cost him a heavy series of labour, and perhaps not unfrequently exposed him to no small peril. "I really doubt," says he, "whether I shall write any more *under this signature*. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are really too dull to furnish me with even the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration²."

In perfect consonance with this declaration, in his reply to the printer, who had offered him half the profits of the letters at that time published under his own correction, or an equal sum for the use of any public institution he should chuse to name, he makes the following remark, of which a part has been already quoted on another occasion: "As for myself, be assured that I am *far above* all pecuniary views, and no other person, I think, has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it therefore, and let your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate, independence: without it no man can be happy, nor even honest. If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily

¹ Letter LX. Vol. II. p. 97.

² Private Letter, No. 5

continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me. *Quod si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutatâ, aut debilitatâ virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat*¹.”

Even so long afterwards as January 19, 1773, in the very last letter we have any certain knowledge he ever addressed to Mr. Woodfall, he urges precisely the same motives for his continuing to desist. “I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. *I meant the cause and the public*: BOTH ARE GIVEN UP. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible. *You* have never flinched that I know of: I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity. If you have any thing to communicate of moment to yourself, you may use the last address and give a hint².”

¹ Private Letter, No. 59. “But if any one believes me to be changed in will, weakened in integrity, or broken in courage, he errs grossly.”

² Private Letter, No. 63. The signals here referred to were thrown out on the very morning of the day on which this letter was written, and consisted of the following Latin quotation, inserted in the Public Advertiser for January 19, 1773, among the other answers to correspondents. *Iterumque, iterumque monebo*. The printer, within a few weeks afterwards, availed himself of the liberty of making a communication to JUNIUS by the last address, and in the Public Advertiser of March 8, gave the following hint: “The letter from AN OLD FRIEND AND CORRESPONDENT, dated January 19, came safe to hand, and his directions are *strictly followed*. *Quod si quis existimat aut, &c.* The quotation is peculiarly happy: for it is not only a copy of what JUNIUS had cited himself in his last Private Letter but one, and was hence sure to attract his attention, but is a smart replication to the passage in the letter it immediately refers to, “*You* have never flinched that I know of.” The subject of some part of the communication at this time made by the printer to JUNIUS, the editor has been able to discover, by having accidentally found among Mr. Woodfall’s papers, and in his own hand-writing, a rough draft of one of the three letters of which it appears to have consisted. This letter the reader will meet with in the private correspondence, arranged according

In effect from the dissolution of the consolidated Whig party upon the death of George Grenville, the absurd divisions in the Bill of Rights Society, and the political separations in the city, our author had much reason to despair of the cause in which he had so manfully engaged.

To the moral character of JUNIUS this letter is of more value than all the popular addresses he ever composed in his life. It is impossible to suppose it to flow from the affectation of an honesty which did not exist in his heart. The circumstances under which it was sent altogether prohibit such an idea: unknown as he was, and unknown as he had now determined to continue, to his correspondent, there was no adequate motive for his assuming the semblance of an inte-

to its date, which is March 7, 1773, the day antecedent to the public notice given in the Public Advertiser as above. Among the answers to correspondents March 20, we find another signal of the very same kind in the following terms, "*Aut voluntate esse mutata;*" and in the same place March 29, a third ensign under the following form, "*Aut debilitata virtute;*" both of which it will be observed, upon a comparison, are verbal continuations of JUNIUS's own quotation, and hence, identify with double force the person to whom they relate. In the Public Advertiser of April 7, we find the following signal of a similar description, and it is the last we have been able to discover, "*Dic quibus in terris.*" It is probable that these all related to matters of a personal concern, upon which, by the above private letter, the printer had still leave to address his correspondent: at least there is no reason for believing that JUNIUS ever broke through the silence upon which he so inflexibly determined on January 19, or consented to re-appear before the public in any character whatever. There were some very excellent letters signed Atticus that appeared in the Public Advertiser between the dates of June 26, 1772, and October 14, 1773, and exhibit much of our author's style, spirit, and sentiments; and which, hence, by some tolerable judges, have been actually ascribed to him: but for various reasons, independently of that afforded by the above private letter, the editor is convinced they are not the production of JUNIUS. The talents they afford proof of, though considerable, are inferior; they contain attacks upon some statesmen who were never attacked by JUNIUS; and it is well known from the following notice inserted among the addresses to correspondents in the Public Advertiser for June 19, 1773, as well as from other facts, that there was at this period, and had been for some time past, another writer in this journal who assumed the name of Atticus. "Some circumstances render it necessary that the printer should communicate a line to ATTICUS, not his old Correspondent."

grity which he felt not, and which did not fairly belong to him. It was, it must have been, a pure, disinterested testimonial of private esteem and public patriotism, consentaneous with the uniform tenor both of his open and his confidential history, and conscientiously developing the real cause of his secession.

In truth it must have been, as he himself states it, insanity, to have persisted any longer in any thing like a regular attack; Lord Camden had declined to act upon his suggestion; the great phalanx of the Whig party was broken up by the death of Mr. George Grenville; the vanity and extreme jealousy of Oliver and Horne had introduced the most acrimonious divisions into the society for supporting the Bill of Rights; and the leading *patriots* of the city had so intermixed their own private interests, and their own private squabbles with the public cause, as to render this cause itself contemptible in the eye of the people at large. He had already tried, but in vain, to awaken the different contending parties to a sense of better and more honourable motives; to induce them to forego their selfish and individual disputes, and to make a common sacrifice of them upon the altar of the constitution¹. Yet, at the same time, so small were his expectations of success, so mean his opinion of the pretensions of most of the leading demagogues of the day to a real love of their country, and so grossly had he himself been occasionally misrepresented by them, that in his confidential intercourse he bade his correspondent beware of entrusting himself to them. "Nothing," says he, "can be more express than my declaration against long parliaments: try Mr. Wilkes once more, (*who was in private possession of his sentiments upon this subject*²;) speak for me in a most friendly but *firm* tone, that I *will not* submit to be any longer aspersed. Between ourselves, let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with *patriots*³."

¹ See JUNIUS, Letter LIX. Vol. II. p. 87, and private Letter, No. 65.

² See Private Letter, No. 66.

³ Id. No. 44.

With his public address to the people, therefore, in Letter LIX. he seems in the first instance to have resolved upon closing his labours at least under the character of JUNIUS, provided no beneficial effect were likely to result from it, and as the printer had expressed to him an earnest desire of publishing a genuine edition of his letters, in a collective form, in consequence of a variety of incorrect and spurious editions at that time circulating through the nation, he seems to have thought that a consent to such a plan would afford him a good ostensible motive for putting a finish to his public career; and on this account he not only acceded to the proposal, but undertook to superintend it as far as his invisibility might allow him; as also to add a few notes, as well as a dedication and preface.

Nothing can be more absurd than the idea entertained by some writers, that JUNIUS himself was the previous editor of one or two of these irregular editions, and especially of an edition published but a short time anterior to his own, audaciously enough entitled “The genuine letters of JUNIUS, to which are prefixed, *anecdotes of the author*¹,” a pamphlet in which the anonymous anecdotist takes it for granted, from his very outset, that JUNIUS and Edmund Burke were the same person, and then proceeds to reason concerning the former, from the known or acknowledged works of the latter.

It was not till the appearance of Newberry’s edition, with which it is not pretended that our author had any concern, that even Woodfall himself had conceived an idea of the propriety of collecting these letters, and publishing them in an edition strictly genuine, in consequence of the numerous blunders by which the common editions were deformed; of these Newberry’s was, perhaps, the freest from mistakes: yet Newberry’s had so many, that our author, upon receiving a copy of it, addressed a note to Woodfall, begging him to hint to Newberry, that as he had thought proper to

¹ See Mr. Chalmers’s Appendix to the Supplemental Apology, &c. p. 24.

reprint his letters, he ought at least to have taken care to have corrected the errata; adding at the same time, "I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper; but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive¹."

His answer upon Woodfall's application to him for leave to reprint his letters collectively, and subject to his own revision, was as follows: "I can have no manner of objection to your reprinting my letters if you think it will answer, which I believe it might, before Newberry appeared. If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more errata (indeed they are innumerable) and perhaps a preface²." It was on this occasion he added, as conceiving it might afford him a proper opportunity for a general close of the character though so early in his correspondence under the name of JUNIUS, as July 1769, "I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature; I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, &c³." In answer to Woodfall's next letter upon the same subject he observes, "Do with my letters exactly as you please. I should think that to make a better figure than Newberry, *some others of my letters may be added; and so throw out a hint that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan I shall point out those which I would recommend, for you know I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all*⁴."

The plan for publication, however, though it commenced thus early, was not matured till October 1771: when it was determined that the work should comprise all the letters which had passed under the signatures of JUNIUS and Philo-Junius to this period inclusively, and be occasionally enriched by a selection of other letters under a variety of other signatures, which, independently of that of Philo-Junius, our author, as has been observed already, not unfrequently employed to explain what required explanation, or defend what demanded vindication, and which he him-

¹ Private Letter, No. 4. ² Id. No. 5. ³ Id. No. 5. ⁴ Id. No. 7.

self thought sufficiently correct to associate with his more laboured productions. In the prosecution of this intention however, he still made the two following alterations. Instead of closing the regular series of letters possessing the signature of JUNIUS with that dated October 5, 1771¹, upon the subject of "the unhappy differences," as he there calls them, "which *had* arisen among the friends of the people, and divided them from each other"—he added five others which the events of the day had impelled him to write during the reprinting of the letters, notwithstanding the intention he had expressed of offering nothing further under this signature. And instead of introducing the explanatory letters written under other signatures, he confined himself, in order that the work might be published before the ensuing session of parliament, to three justificatory papers alone: the first, under the title of "A Friend of JUNIUS," containing an answer to "A Barrister at Law;" the second an anonymous declaration upon certain points on which his opinion had been mistaken or misrepresented; and the third an extract from a letter to Mr. Wilkes, drawn up for the purpose of being laid before the Bill of Rights Society, and vindicating himself from the charge of having written in favour of long parliaments and rotten boroughs. This last however was furnished, not by Mr. Wilkes, but from his own notes; "you shall have the *extract*," says he, "to go into the second volume: it will be a short one²."

¹ Letter LIX. Vol. II. p. 87.

² Private Letter, No. 45. The reader will readily pardon, and perhaps thank us, for pointing out to his particular attention the following exquisite paragraph with which the above letter closes, but which formed no part of it as originally addressed to Mr. Wilkes. It refers to an able argument that an excision of the rotten boroughs from the representative system might perhaps produce more mischief than benefit to the constitution. "The man, who fairly and completely answers this argument, shall have my thanks and my applause. My heart is already with him—I am ready to be converted.—I admire his morality, and would gladly subscribe to the articles of his faith—Grateful, as I am, to the GOOD BEING, whose bounty has imparted to me this reasoning intellect, whatever it is, I hold myself proportionably indebted to him, from whose
enlightened

Of the five letters added after he meant to have closed, and had actually begun to reprint his series, four of them are either expressly addressed to Lord Mansfield, or incidentally relate to him, in consequence of his having *illegally* (as it was contended) admitted a felon of the name of John Eyre to bail, who, although possessing a fortune of nearly thirty thousand pounds sterling, had stolen a quantity of paper in quires out of one of the public offices at Guildhall, and was caught in the very theft. The other letter is addressed to his steady object of inveterate hatred, the Duke of Grafton, upon the defeat of his attempt to transfer the Duke of Portland's estate in Cumberland, consisting of what had formerly been crown lands, to Sir James Lowther, in order to assist the latter in securing his election for this county.

Yet such was his anxiety to get this work completed and published before the winter session of parliament, that he was ready to sacrifice the appearance of the whole of these additional letters, even that containing his elaborate accusation of Lord Mansfield, and which he acknowledged to have cost him enormous pains, rather than that it should be delayed beyond this period. "I am truly concerned," says he in a private letter dated January 20, 1772, "to see that the publication of the book is so long delayed. It ought to have appeared before the meeting of parliament. By no means would I have you insert this long letter, if it make more than the difference of two days in the publication. Believe me, the delay is a real injury to the cause¹."

The difficulties, however, of sending proofs and revises forward and backward were so considerable, that the anxiety of the author was not gratified: parliament met, but the

enlightened understanding another ray of knowledge communicates to mine. But neither should I think the most exalted faculties of the human mind, a gift worthy of the divinity; nor any assistance, in the improvement of them, a subject of gratitude to my fellow-creature, if I were not satisfied, that really to inform the understanding corrects and enlarges the heart."

¹ Private Letter, No. 51.

book was not published. JUNIUS became extremely impatient; yet still, in the most earnest terms pressed its publication before Alderman Sawbridge's motion *in favour of triennial parliaments* which was to be brought forward in the beginning of March. "Surely," says he, in his private letter of February 22¹, "you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you would protract the publication so long. At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge's motion, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation: at a certain point of time the appetite palls: I fear you have lost the season. The book, I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it.—But I have done."

He was soon however consoled by intelligence from his friend Woodfall that, unduly as the book had been postponed, it was not for want of any exertions of his own; and that late as the season was, it would still precede the expected motion of Alderman Sawbridge². He, in consequence, replied as follows: "I do you the justice to believe that the delay has been unavoidable. The expedient you propose of printing the Dedication and Preface in the Public Advertiser is unadvisable. The attention of the public would then be quite lost to the book itself. Your rivals will be disappointed: nobody will apply to them, when they can be supplied at the fountain-head.—All I can now say is make haste with the book³."

The Dedication, Preface, and the materials for his notes were all finished about the beginning of the preceding November (1771). The letters at large, excepting the first two sheets which were revised by the author himself, were from the difficulty of conveyance entrusted to the correction of Mr. Woodfall. The Dedication and Preface were⁴ confided

¹ Private Letter, No. 55.

² The letters were actually published March 3, and Alderman Sawbridge's motion discussed the ensuing day—which motion, however, was lost by a majority of 251 against 83.

³ Private Letter, No. 56.

⁴ Id. No. 40.

to the correction of Mr. Wilkes, with whose attention he expresses himself well pleased. "When you see Mr. Wilkes," says he in a note of February 29, 1772, "pray return him my thanks for the trouble he has taken. I wish he had taken more¹:" intimating hereby that there were still errors of which he was aware, and would have corrected if possible.

Yet though he thus continued to adhere rigidly to his determination never again to appear before the public in his full dress, or under the signature of JUNIUS, as he expresses it in his Private Letter of November 8, 1771, he did not object occasionally to introduce his observations and continue his severe strictures in a looser and less elaborate form, and under some appellative or other, that might not interfere with the claims of JUNIUS as a whole, as in the case of his series of letters to Lord Barrington, see No. cv, cvii, &c. These, however, it was not easy, in spite of the characteristic style that still pervaded them, for the world at large to bring completely home to the real writer, though many of them were frequently charged to the account of JUNIUS by the political critics of the day, in different addresses to the printer upon this subject.

To judge of the moral and political character of JUNIUS from his writings, as well private as public, he appears to have been a man of a bold and ardent spirit, tenaciously honourable in his personal connexions, but vehement and inveterate in his enmities, and quick and irritable in conceiving them. In his state principles he was strictly constitutional, excepting perhaps upon the single point of denying the impeccability of the crown; in those of religion he, at least, *ostensibly* professed an attachment to the established church.

Of his personal and private honour, however, we can only judge from his connexion with Mr. Woodfall. Yet this connexion is perhaps sufficient; throughout the whole of it he appears in a light truly ingenuous and liberal. "If unde-

¹ Private Letters, No. 57.

signedly," says he in one of his letters, "I should send you any thing you may think dangerous, judge for yourself, or take any opinion you may think proper. You cannot offend or afflict me but by hazarding your own safety¹." To the same effect in another letter, "For my own part I can very truly assure you that nothing would afflict me more than to have drawn you into a *personal* danger, because it admits of no recompense. A little expense is not to be regarded, and I hope these papers have reimbursed you. I never will send you any thing that *I* think dangerous; but the risk is yours, and you must determine for yourself²."

Upon another occasion, being sensible that he had written with an asperity that might alarm his correspondent, he again begged him not to print if he apprehended any danger; adding that, for himself he should not be offended at his desisting; and merely requesting that if he did not chuse to take the risk he would transmit the paper as sent to him, to a printer who was well known to be less cautious than himself. "The inclosed," says he, in one of his notes, "is of such importance, so very material, that it *must* be given to the public immediately. *I will not advise*, though *I think* you perfectly safe. All I say is that I rely upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, or to-night in the *Pacquet*³."—To the same effect is the following upon another occasion. "I hope you will approve of announcing the inclosed JUNIUS to-morrow, and publishing it on Monday. If, for any reasons that do not occur to me, you should think it unadviseable to print it as it stands, I must intreat the favour of you to transmit it to Bingley, and satisfy him that it is a real JUNIUS, worth a North Briton extraordinary. It will be impossible for me to have an opportunity of altering any part of it⁴."

Upon the printer's being menaced with a prosecution on the part of the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of the publication of JUNIUS's letter to him of the date of December

¹ Private Letters, No. 43.

³ Id. No. 38.

² Id. No. 33.

⁴ Id. No. 34.

12, 1769, accusing this nobleman of having, in the most corrupt and sinister manner, either sold or connived at the sale of a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter, he writes as follows: "As to yourself I am convinced the ministry will not venture to attack you; they dare not submit to such an enquiry. If they do, shew no fear, but tell them plainly you will justify, and subpoena Mr. Hine, Burgoyne, and Bradshaw of the Treasury: that will silence them at once¹." The printer, however, was still fearful, and could not avoid expressing himself so to his invisible friend; who thus replied to his proposal of volunteering an apology: "Judge for yourself. I enter seriously into the anxiety of your situation; at the same time I am strongly inclined to think that you will not be called upon. They cannot do it without subjecting Hine's affair to an enquiry, which would be worse than death to the minister. As it is they are more seriously stabbed with this last stroke than with all the rest. At any rate, stand firm: (I mean with all the humble appearances of contrition;) if you trim, or falter you will lose friends, without gaining others²." The friendly advice thus shrewdly given was punctiliously followed; and the predictions of JUNIUS were more than accomplished: for the minister not only did not dare to enforce his menaces, but at the same time thought it expedient to drop abruptly the prosecution of Mr. Vaughan, which this attack upon him was expressly designed to fight off, and to drop it too, after the rule against Vaughan had been made absolute.

Upon the publication of JUNIUS's letter to the King, Woodfall was not quite so fortunate—but his invisible friend still followed him with assistance: he offered him, as has already been observed, a reimbursement of whatever might be his pecuniary expenses, and aided him in a still higher degree with the soundest prudential and legal advice. Upon a subsequent occasion also, he makes the following observation. "As to yourself, I really think you in no danger. *You* are not the object, and punishing *you* would be no gratifica-

¹ Private Letters, No. 15.

² Id. No. 17.

tion to the King¹.”—But upon this subject, the following is one of the most important notes, as, although he expressly denies all *professional* knowledge of the law, it sufficiently proves that he was better acquainted with it than many who are actual practitioners. “I have carefully perused the *Information*: it is so loose and ill-drawn that I am persuaded Mr. De Grey² could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it should, it will not be possible for a jury to find you guilty³.”

In his first opinion he was mistaken; in his second he was correct. The cause was tried at Nisi Prius—but no one has yet forgotten that the verdict returned was “guilty of printing and publishing *only*,” which in fact implied not *guilty* at all⁴.

It is to this cause, as has been already glanced at, we are chiefly indebted for an acknowledged and unequivocal right in the jury to return a general verdict—that is, a verdict that shall embrace matter of law as well as matter of fact. Upon the ambiguity of the verdict however, in the case before us, a motion was made by the defendant’s counsel in arrest of judgment; at the same time that an opposite motion was advanced by the counsel for the crown, for a rule upon the defendant to shew cause why the verdict should not be entered up according to the *legal* import of the words. On both sides a rule to shew cause was granted, and the matter being argued before the court of King’s Bench, Lord Mansfield, whose opinion was strongly in favour of the verdict being entered up, was supported by the single opinion of Mr. Justice Smythe alone—the rest of the judges unanimously opposing his lordship’s construction. The result was the grant of a new trial, which, however, was not proceeded in, for want of proof of the publication of the paper in question.

¹ Private Letters, No. 43.

² At that time Attorney General.

³ Private Letters, No. 20.

⁴ See Editor’s notes to p. 12 and 191 of this Volume.

That JUNIUS was quick and irritable in conceiving disgust, and vehement and even at times malignant in his enmities, we may equally ascertain from his private and his public communications. In the violence of his hatreds almost every one whom he attacks is guilty in the extreme; there are no degrees of comparison either in their criminality or his own detestation: the whole is equally superlative. If the Duke of Grafton be the object of his address, "every villain in the kingdom," says he, "is your friend¹—the very sunshine you live in is a prelude to your destruction²." If Lord Mansfield fall beneath his lash, "I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that in *my* judgment he is the worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom³." An opinion corroborated by him in his private correspondence: "We have got the rascal down," says he, "let us strangle him if it be possible⁴." In like manner addressing himself to Lord Barrington, "You are so detested and despised by all parties (because all parties know you) that England, Scotland, and Ireland have but one wish concerning you⁵;" while his note to the printer accompanying this address, closes thus: "The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable. There must be some mystery in it which I hope will soon be discovered to his confusion. Next to the Duke of Grafton I verily believe the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Barrington⁶." Even Scævola, an anonymous writer, whom he knew not, is "a blockhead" and "a fool⁷" for opposing him: Swinney, for his impertinent enquiry of Lord G. Sackville, "a wretched and a dangerous fool⁸;" and Garrick, on the same account, "a rascal, and a vagabond⁹."

Yet it is not difficult to account for the more violent of his political abhorrences; and which seem, indeed, to have been almost exclusively directed against the three ministerial characters just enumerated in conjunction with the earl of Bute: for his attacks upon the Duke of Bedford and Sir William

¹ Vol. II. p. 123.⁴ Private Letters, No. 24.⁷ Id. No. 46 and 47.² Id. p. 125.⁵ Miscellaneous Letters, No. cxi.⁸ Id. No. 5.³ Id. p. 148.⁶ Private Letters, No. 61.⁹ Id. No. 41 and 43.

Blackstone, are but light and casual when compared with his incessant and unmitigated tirades against these noblemen.

Firmly rooted in the best Whig principles of the day, he had an invincible hatred of Lord Bute as the grand prop and foundation-stone of Toryism in its worst and most arbitrary tendencies: as introduced into Carlton-house against the consent of his present Majesty's royal grandfather, through the overweening favouritism of the princess dowager of Wales; as having obtained an entire ascendancy over this princess, and through this princess over the King, whose non-age had been entirely entrusted to him, and through the king over the cabinet and the parliament itself. The introduction of Lord Bute into the post of chief preceptor to his Majesty was in our author's opinion an inextinguishable evil. "*That*," says he, "was the salient point from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign took life and motion." Vol. I. p. 193. Thus despising the tutor, he could have no great reverence for the pupil: and hence the personal dislike he too frequently betrays, and occasionally in language altogether intemperate and unjustifiable, for the Sovereign. Hence, too, his unconquerable prejudice against Scotchmen of every rank.

The same cause excited his antipathy against Lord Mansfield, even before his Lordship's arbitrary line of conduct had proved that our author's suspicions concerning him were well-founded. Lord Mansfield was a Scotchman: but this was not the whole. Under the patronage of Lord Stormont, he had been educated with the highest veneration for the whole Stuart family, and especially for the Pretender; whose health, when a young man, had been his favourite toast, and to whom his brother was private and confidential secretary. It was for these sentiments, and for the politics which intruded themselves in his judicial proceedings, where the crown was concerned, that our author expressed himself in such bitter terms against the chief justice. "*Our language*," says he, in Letter XLI. Vol. I. p. 251, "has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you, and exhausted.—Ample

justice has been done, by abler pens than mine, to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be my humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense."

His detestation of the Duke of Grafton proceeded from his Grace's having abandoned his patron Lord Chatham, and the Whig principles into which he had been initiated under him, to gratify his own ambition on the first offer that occurred: from his having afterwards united sometimes with the Bedford party, sometimes with Lord Bute, and sometimes with other connexions of whatever principles or professions, whenever the union appeared favourable to his personal views; and from his having hereby prevented that general coalition of the different divisions of Whig statesmen, which must in all probability have proved permanently triumphant over the power of the King himself. "My abhorrence of the Duke," says JUNIUS, "arises from an intimate knowledge of his character, and from a thorough conviction that his baseness has been the cause of greater mischief to England than even the unfortunate ambition of Lord Bute¹."

It was not necessary for Lord Barrington to be a Scotchman in order to excite the antipathy of JUNIUS. He might justly despise and even hate him (if it be allowable to indulge a private hatred against a public character of any kind) for his political versatilities and want of all principle; for atrocities indeed, which no man can yet have forgotten, and which never can be buried in forgetfulness but with the total oblivion of his name. Barrington, independently of these general considerations, however, was the man who moved for Wilkes's expulsion from parliament, in which he was seconded by Mr. Rigby.

These were the prime objects of our author's abhorrence; and in proportion as other politicians were connected with them by principles or want of principles, confederacy, nation or even family, he abhorred them also.

¹ Vol. II. p. 67.

His reasons for believing that the constitution allows him to regard the reigning prince as occasionally culpable in his own person, are given at large in his Preface. To few people perhaps in the present day will they carry conviction. But, bating this single opinion, his view of the principles and powers of the constitution, appears to be equally correct and perspicuous. Upon the question of general warrants; of the right of juries to return general verdicts, or in other words, to determine upon the law as well as upon the fact; of the unlimited power of Lords Chief Justices to admit to bail; of the illegality of suspending acts of parliament by proclamation, we owe him much; he was a warm and rigid supporter of the co-extent, as well as co-existence of the three estates of the government, and it was from this principle alone that he argued against the system of indefinite privilege as appertaining to either house individually; and as allowing it a power of arbitrary punishment, for what may occasionally be regarded as a contempt of such house, or a breach of such privilege.

Personally and outrageously inimical, however, as he was, to the reigning prince, and earnestly devoted as he seems to have been to the cause of the people, neither his enmity nor his patriotism hurried him into any of those political extravagancies which have peculiarly marked the character of the present age: a limited monarchy, like our own, he openly preferred to a republic; he contended for the constitutional right of impressing, in case of emergency, sea-faring men for the common service of the country; strenuously opposed the supporters of the Bill of Rights, in their endeavours to restore annual parliaments, and their fanciful, but as it appeared to him, unconstitutional plan of purifying the legislature by disfranchising a number of boroughs which they had chosen to regard as totally corrupt and rotten: and anterior to the American contest was as thoroughly convinced as Mr. George Grenville himself of the supremacy of the legislature of this country over the American colonies¹.

¹ See Miscellaneous Letters, No. x. as well as various others in the year 1768.

Upon the first point he observes: "I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, *in this or any other empire of equal extent*, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country¹." Upon the second point he appears to have been chiefly influenced by judge Foster's argument on the legality of pressing seamen, and his comment on that argument may be seen in his observations, Vol. II. p. 109 and p. 118. Upon the third and fourth points he thus ingenuously expresses himself: "Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and if I live, will assuredly attempt it,) to convince the English nation by arguments, to *my* understanding unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a *triennial*, and banish the idea of an *annual* parliament.—As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons; yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions, in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution.—When you propose to cut away the *rotten* parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly *sound*? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop,—at what point the mortification ends?"

JUNIUS has been repeatedly accused of having been a party-man, but perhaps no political satirist was ever less so. To Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne he was equally indifferent, except in regard to their public principles and public characters. In his estimation the cause alone was every thing, and they

¹ Vol. II. p. 89.

² Id. p. 149—152.

were only of value as the temporary and accidental supporters of it. "Let us employ these men," says he, "in whatever departments their various abilities are best suited to, and as much to the advantage of the common cause, as their different inclinations will permit.—If individuals have no virtues their vices may be of use to us. I care not with what principle the new-born patriot is animated, if the measures he supports are beneficial to the community. The nation is interested in his conduct. His motives are his own. The properties of a patriot are perishable in the individual, but there is a quick succession of subjects, and the breed is worth preserving¹." It was in this view of the politics of the day, that he privately cautioned his friend Woodfall, as has been already noticed, "to be on his guard against *patriots*²;" and in the consciousness of possessing a truly independent spirit, that he boasted of being "disowned, as a dangerous auxiliary, by every *party* in the kingdom³," his creed not expressly comporting with any single party creed whatever.

Yet there were statesmen whom he believed to be truly honest and upright, and for whom he felt a personal as well as a political reverence: and it is no small proof of the keenness of his penetration that the characters, whom he thus singled out from the common mass of pretenders to genuine patriotism, have been ever since growing in the public estimation, and are now justly looked back to as the pillars and bulwarks of the English constitution. His high opinion of the general purity and virtue of Lord Camden we have already noticed. "Lord Bute," says he, in describing several others of whom he equally approved, "found no resource of dependence or security in the proud, imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville⁴, nor in the mild, but determined integrity

¹ Vol. II. p. 88. 94.

² Private Letters, No. 44.

³ Vol. II. p. 1.

⁴ Of all the political characters of the day Mr. Grenville appears to have been our author's favourite; no man was more open to censure in many parts of his conduct, but he is never censured: while, on the contrary, he is extolled wherever an opportunity offers; yet JUNIUS positively asserted that he had no personal knowledge of Mr. Grenville. Compare Miscellaneous Letters, No. xxix. July 30, 1768, with p. 121 of this Vol.

of Lord Rockingham¹." He also seems disposed to have entertained a good opinion of Lord Holland; and this is the rather entitled to attention, as the opinion was communicated confidentially. "I wish," says he, "Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour: if his cause be good, he should at once have published that account to which he refers in his letter to the mayor²." With respect to Mr. Sawbridge, and his worthy colleague, he observes, "My memory fails me if I have mentioned their names with disrespect;—unless it be reproachful to acknowledge a sincere respect for the character of Mr. Sawbridge, and not to have questioned the innocence of Mr. Oliver's intentions³." And again, adverting to the former, "It were much to be desired, that we had many such men as Mr. Sawbridge to represent us in parliament.—I speak from common report and opinion only, when I impute to him a speculative predilection in favour of a republic.—In the personal conduct and manners of the man, I cannot be mistaken. He has shewn himself possessed of that republican firmness, which the times require, and by which an English gentleman may be as usefully and as honourably distinguished, as any citizen of ancient Rome, of Athens, or Lacedæmon⁴."

Yet the times were too corrupt, and the instances of defection too numerous, to allow so wary a statesman as JUNIUS to regard even these exalted characters without occasional suspicion and jealousy. Much as he approved of the Marquis of Rockingham personally, he regarded him publicly as forming a feeble administration that dissolved in its own weakness⁵. He had more than once some doubts of the motives both of Lord Camden and Lord Chatham: their opposition at the commencement of the American contest he was jealous of; and ascribed it rather to political pique than to liberal patriotism⁶. To his friend he writes thus confidentially, "The Duke of Grafton has been long labouring to detach Camden⁷;" and in unison with this idea he tells his

¹ Page 105 of this Vol. ⁴ Vol. II. p. 90. ⁶ Page 35 of this Vol.

² Private Letters, No. 5. ⁵ P. 152 of this Vol. ⁷ Private Letters, No. 47.

³ Vol. II. p. 66.

Lordship himself publicly, "If you decline this honourable office, I fear it will be said that, for some months past, you have kept too much company with the Duke of Grafton¹." And even as late as August, 1771, when Lord Chatham had been progressively growing on his good opinion, he thus cautiously praises him. "*If* his ambition be upon a level with his understanding;—*if* he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius, which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of JUNIUS shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.—I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.—These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned²."

In his religious opinions JUNIUS has been accused of deism and atheism; but on what account it seems impossible to ascertain: he has by others been conceived to have been a dissenter³; yet with as little reason. To judge from the few passages in his own writings that have any bearing upon the question, and which occur chiefly in his letter, under the signature of Philo-Junius, of August 26, 1771, he appears to have been a Christian upon the most sincere conviction; one of whose chief objects was to defend the religion established by law, and who was resolved to renounce and give up to public contempt and indignation every man who should be capable of uttering a disrespectful word against it. To the religion of the court, it must be confessed that he was no friend; and to speak the truth it constituted, at the period in question, an anomaly not a little difficult of solution. To behold a sanctuary self-surrounded by a moat of pollution; a prince strictly and exemplarily pious, selecting for his confidential advisers men of the most abandoned debauchery and profligacy of life, demanded, in order to penetrate the mystery, a knowledge never completely acquired till the present

¹ Vol. II. p. 148.

² Id. p. 66, 67.

³ Heron's edition of the Letters of JUNIUS, Vol. I. p. 69

day, which has sufficiently demonstrated how impossible it is for a king of England, to exercise at all times a real option in the appointment of his ministers. The severity with which our author uniformly satirized every violation of public decorum, at least entitles him to public gratitude, and does credit to the purity of his heart¹: and if his morality may be judged of by various occasional observations and advices scattered throughout his private intercourse with Mr. Woodfall, some instances of which have already been selected, it is impossible to do otherwise than approve both his principles and his conduct.

Whether the writer of these letters had any other and less worthy object in view than that he uniformly avowed, namely, a desire to subserve the best political interests of his country, it is impossible to ascertain with precision. It is unquestionably no common occurrence in history, to behold a man thus steadily, and almost incessantly, for five years, volunteering his services in the cause of the people, amidst abuse and slander from every party, exposed to universal resentment, unknown, and not daring to be known, without having any personal object to acquire, any sinister motive of individual aggrandisement or reward. Yet nothing either in his public or private letters affords us the remotest hint that he was thus actuated². Throughout the whole, from first to last, in the midst of all his warmth, and rancour, his argument and declamation, his appeal to the public, and his notes to his confidential friend, he seems to have been influenced by the stimulus of sound and genuine patriotism alone. With this he commenced his career, and with this he retired from the field of action, retaining, at least a twelvemonth afterwards, the latest period in which we are able to catch a glimpse of him, the same political sentiments he had professed on his first appearance before the world, and still ready to renew his efforts the very moment he could perceive they

¹ See especially Vol. I. p. 96, 97, 100, 101, 148, 149.

² The only hint which can be gathered that he had any prospect at any time of engaging in public life, is in *Private Letters*, No. 17: but even this is of questionable meaning.

had a chance of being attended with benefit. Under these circumstances, therefore, however difficult it may be to acquit him altogether of personal considerations, it is still more difficult, and must be altogether unjust, ungenerous, and illogical to suspect his integrity.

It has often been said, from the general knowledge he has evinced of English jurisprudence, that he must have studied the law professionally: and in one of his Private Letters already quoted, he gives his personal opinion upon the mode in which the information of the King against Woodfall was drawn up, in a manner that may serve to countenance such an opinion. Yet on other occasions he speaks obviously not from his own knowledge, but from a consultation with legal practitioners: "The information," says he, "will only be for a misdemeanour, and *I am advised* that no jury, and especially in these times, will find it¹." In like manner, although he affirms in his elaborate letter to Lord Mansfield, "I well knew the *practice* of the court, and by what legal rules it ought to be directed²," yet he is for ever condemning the intricacies and littlenesses of special pleading, and in his Preface declares unequivocally, "I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country. If therefore the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law³."

That he was of some rank and consequence seems generally to have been admitted by his opponents, and must indeed necessarily follow, as has been already casually hinted at, from the facility with which he acquired political information, and a knowledge of ministerial intrigues. In one place he expressly affirms that his "rank and fortune place *him* above a common bribe⁴," in another "I should have hoped that even *my* name might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature

¹ Private Letters, No. 18. ² Vol. II. p. 127. ³ Page 8 of this Vol.

⁴ Miscellaneous Letters, No. LIV. Vol. II. p. 317.

of Sir W. Draper¹." On two occasions he intimates an intention of composing a regular history of the Duke of Grafton's administration. "These observations," says he, "general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and may perhaps be the employment of a future hour²;" and in a note subjoined to a subsequent letter, "the history of this ridiculous administration shall not be lost to the public³." And on one occasion, and on one occasion only, he appears to hint at some prospect, though a slender one, of taking a part in the government of the country. It occurs in a private letter to Woodfall: "I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but, *if things take the turn I expect, you shall know me by my works*⁴."

Of those who have critically analyzed the style of his compositions, some have pretended to prove that he must necessarily have been of Irish descent or Irish education, from the peculiarity of his idioms; while, to shew how little dependence is to be placed upon any such observations, others have equally pretended to prove, from a similar investigation, that he could not have been a native either of Scotland or Ireland, nor have studied in any university of either of those countries. The fact is, that there are a few phraseologies in his letters peculiar to himself; such as occur in the compositions of all original writers of great force and genius, but which are neither indicative of any particular race, nor referable to any provincial dialect.

The distinguishing features of his style are ardour, spirit, perspicuity, classical correctness, sententious, epigrammatic compression: his characteristic ornaments keen, indignant invective, audacious interrogation, shrewd, severe, antithetic retort, proud, presumptuous disdain of the powers of his adversary, pointed and appropriate allusions that can never be mistaken, but are often overcharged, and at times perhaps totally unfounded, similes introduced, not for the purpose of decoration, but of illustration and energy, brilliant,

¹ Page 45 of this volume.

³ Id. p. 200.

² Id. p. 83.

⁴ Private Letters, No. 17.

burning, admirably selected, and irresistible in their application¹. In his similes, however, he is once or twice too recondite, and in his grammatical construction still more frequently incorrect. Yet the latter should in most instances perhaps, if not the whole, be rather attributed to the difficulty of revising the press, and the peculiar circumstances under which his work was printed and published, than to any inaccuracy or classical misconception of his own. As to the surreptitious copies of his letters, he frequently complains of their numerous errors. "Indeed," says he, "they are innumerable²;" and though the genuine edition labours under very considerably fewer, and on several occasions received his approbation on the score of accuracy, yet it would be too much to assert that it is altogether free from errors. In truth this was not to be expected, for it is not known that a single proof sheet (excepting those containing the first two letters) was ever sent to him. "You must correct the press yourself," says he in one of his letters to Woodfall; "but *I should be glad to see corrected proofs*

¹ The following character of his style and talents is the production of a pen contemporaneous but hostile to him. It occurs in a letter in the Public Advertiser, subscribed Alciphron, and dated August 22, 1771. The writer had well studied him.

"The admiration that is so lavishly bestowed upon this writer, affords one of the clearest proofs, perhaps, that can be found, how much more easily men are swayed by the imagination, than by the judgment; and that a fertile invention, glittering language, and sounding periods, act with far greater force upon the mind, than the simple deductions of sober reasoning, or the calm evidence of facts. For the talents of JUNIUS never appeared in demonstration.

"Rapid, violent, and impetuous, he affirms without reason, and decides without proof; as if he feared that the slow methods of induction and argument would interrupt him in his progress, and throw obstacles in the way of his career. But though he advances with the largest strides, his steps are measured. His expressions are selected with the most anxious care, and his periods terminated in harmonious cadence. Thus he captivates by his confidence, by the turn of his sentences, and by the force of his words. His readers are persuaded because they are agitated, and convinced because they are pleased. Their assent, therefore, is never withheld; though they scarcely know why, or even to what it is yielded."

² Private Letters, No. 5.

of the two first sheets¹." The Dedication and Preface he certainly did not revise.

Yet if the grammatical construction be occasionally imperfect, (sometimes hurried over by the author, and sometimes mistaken by the printer) the general plan and outline, the train of argument, the bold and fiery images, the spirited invective that pervade the whole, appear to have been always selected with the utmost care and attention. Such finished forms of composition bear in themselves the most evident marks of elaborate forecast and revisal, and the author rather boasted of the pains he had bestowed upon them than attempted to conceal his labour. In recommending to Woodfall to introduce into his purposed edition various letters of his own writing under other signatures, he adds, "If you adopt this plan I shall point out those which I would recommend; for you know, I do not, nor have I time to give equal care to them all.—As to JUNIUS I must wait for fresh matter, as *this* is a character which must be kept up with credit²." The private note accompanying his first letter to Lord Mansfield commences thus, "The inclosed, though begun within these few days, *has been greatly laboured*; it is very correctly copied; and I beg that you will take care that it be literally printed as it stands³." The note accompanying his last and most celebrated letter observes as follows: "At last I have concluded *my great work*, and assure you with no small labour⁴." On sending the additional papers for the genuine edition he asserts, "I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the Dedication and Preface may be correct. Look to it;—if you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive your suffering it to be spoiled. *I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish⁵*." In like manner in his letter to Mr. Horne, he interrogates him, "What public question have I declined, what villain have I spared? *Is there no labour in the composition of these letters⁶?*" In effect no excellence of any kind is to be attained

¹ Private Letters, No. 40.

³ Id. No. 24.

⁵ Id. No. 46.

² Id. No. 7.

⁴ Id. No. 40.

⁶ Vol. II. p. 65.

without labour: and the degree of excellence that characterises the style of these addresses, intrinsically demonstrates the exercise of a labour unsparing and unremitted. Mr. Horne, in his reply, attempts to ridicule this acknowledgment: "I compassionate," says he, "your labour in the composition of your letters, and will communicate to you the secret of my fluency.—Truth needs no ornament; and, in my opinion, what she borrows of the pencil is deformity¹." Yet no man ever bestowed more pains upon his compositions than Mr. Horne has done: nor needed he to have been more ashamed of the confession than his adversary. To have made it openly would have been honest to himself, useful to the young, and salutary to the conceited.

His most elaborate letters are that to the King, and that to Lord Mansfield upon the law of bailments: one of his most sarcastic is that to the Duke of Grafton, of the date of May 30, 1769; and one of his best and most truly valuable that to the printer of the Public Advertiser, dated Oct. 5, 1771, upon the best means of uniting the jarring sectaries of the popular party into one common cause.

His metaphors are peculiarly brilliant, and so numerous, though seldom unnecessarily introduced, as to render it difficult to know where to fix in selecting a few examples. The following are ably managed, and require no explanation. "The ministry, it seems, are labouring to draw a line of distinction between the honour of the crown and the rights of the people. This new idea has yet been only started in discourse, for, in effect, both objects have been equally sacrificed. I neither understand the distinction, nor what use the ministry propose to make of it. The King's honour is that of his people. Their *real* honour and *real* interest are the same.—I am not contending for a vain punctilio.—Private credit is wealth; public honour² is security.—The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage and you fix him to the earth²." Again: "Above all things, let me guard my countrymen against

¹ Vol. II. p. 72.² Vol. I. p. 272.

the meanness and folly of accepting of a trifling or moderate compensation for extraordinary and essential injuries. Concessions, such as these, are of little moment to the sum of things; unless it be to prove, that the worst of men are sensible of the injuries they have done us, and perhaps to demonstrate to us the imminent danger of our situation. In the shipwreck of the state, trifles float and are preserved; while every thing solid and valuable sinks to the bottom, and is lost for ever¹." Once more: "The very sun-shine you live in, is a prelude to your dissolution. When you are ripe, you shall be plucked²." The commencement of his letter to Lord Camden shall furnish another instance: "I turn with pleasure, from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification³."

In a few instances his metaphors are rather too far-fetched or recondite: "Yet for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred, until your morals shall be happily ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which the worst examples cease to be contagious⁴." The change which is perpetually taking place in the matter of infection gives it progressively a point of utmost activity:—after which period, by the operation of the same continued change, it becomes progressively less active, till at length it ceases to possess any effect whatever. The parallel is correctly drawn, but it cannot be followed by every one. In the same letter we have another example: "His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition, and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the *caput mortuum* of vitriol in your Grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state, but brought into action, you become vitriol again⁵." This figure is too scientific, and not quite correct: *vitriol* cannot, properly speaking, be said to be, in any instance, a *caput mor-*

¹ Vol. II. p. 96, 97.

³ Id. p. 147.

⁵ Vol. I. p. 105.

² Id. p. 125.

⁴ Vol. I. p. 108.

tuum. He seems, however, to have been unjustly charged with an incongruity of metaphor in his repartee upon the following observation of Sir W. Draper: "You, indeed, are a tyrant of another sort, and upon your political bed of torture can excruciate any subject, from a first minister down to such a grub or butterfly as myself¹." To this remark his reply was as follows: "If Sir W. Draper's bed be a bed of torture, he has made it for himself. I shall never interrupt *his repose*²." We need not ramble so far as to vindicate the present use of this last word by referring to its Latin origin: he himself has justly noticed under the signature of Philo-Junius, that those who pretend to espy any absurdity either in the idea or expression, "cannot distinguish between a sarcasm and a contradiction³."

To pursue this critique further would be to disparage the judgment of the reader. Upon the whole these letters, whether considered as classical and correct compositions, or as addresses of popular and impressive eloquence, are well entitled to the distinction they have acquired; and quoted as they have been, with admiration, in the senate by such nice judges and accomplished scholars as Mr. Burke and Lord Eldon, eulogized by Dr. Johnson, and admitted by the author of the Pursuits of Literature, to the same rank among English classics as Livy or Tacitus among Roman, there can be no doubt that they will live commensurately with the language in which they are composed.

These few desultory and imperfect hints are the whole that the writer of this essay has been able to collect concerning the author of the Letters of JUNIUS. Yet desultory and imperfect as they are he still hopes that they may not be utterly destitute both of interest and utility. Although they do not undertake positively to ascertain who the author was, they offer a fair test to point out negatively who he was not; and to enable us to reject the pretensions of a host of persons, whose friends have claimed for them so distinguished an honour.

¹ Vol. I. p. 160.² Id. p. 163.³ Id. p. 171.

From the observations contained in this essay it should seem to follow unquestionably that the author of the letters of JUNIUS was an Englishman of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution and history of his native country: that he was a man of easy if not of affluent circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own account: that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and entrusted with all its secrets: that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world: that during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the Public Advertiser: that in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable and impetuous; subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities; but possessed of a high independent spirit; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them; that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; an avowed member of the established church, and, though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession.

What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not; but these are sufficient; and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly is in vain brought forwards as the author of the Letters of JUNIUS.

The persons to whom this honour has at different times, and on different grounds been attributed are the following: Charles Lloyd, a clerk of the Treasury, and afterwards, a deputy teller of the Exchequer; John Roberts, also a clerk in the Treasury at the commencement of his political life, but afterwards successively private secretary to Mr. Pelham

when chancellor of the exchequer, member of parliament for Harwich, and commissioner of the board of trade*; Samuel Dyer, a man of considerable learning, and a friend of Mr. Burke and of Dr. Johnson; William Gerard Hamilton, another friend and patron of Mr. Burke; Edmund Burke himself; Dr. Butler, late bishop of Hereford; the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen; Major-General Charles Lee, well-known for his activity during the American war; John Wilkes; Hugh Macauley Boyd; John Dunning, Lord Ashburton; Henry Flood; and Lord George Sackville.

Of the three first of these reported authors of the Letters of JUNIUS, it will be sufficient to observe, without entering into any other fact whatever, that Lloyd was on his death-bed at the date of the last of JUNIUS's private letters; an essay, which has sufficient proof of having been written in the possession of full health and spirits; and which, together with the rest of our author's private letters to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, is in the possession of the proprietor of this edition, and bears date January 19th, 1773. While as to Roberts and Dyer, they had both been dead for many months anterior to this period: Lloyd died, after a lingering illness, January 22d, 1773; Roberts July 13th, and Dyer on September 15th, both in the preceding year.

Of the two next reputed authors, Hamilton had neither energy nor personal courage enough for such an undertaking†, and Burke could not have written in the style of JUNIUS, which was precisely the reverse of his own, nor

* Anonymously accused of having written these letters in the Public Advertiser, March 21, 1772, *et passim*.

† Hamilton, from his having *once* made a brilliant speech in the lower House of Great Britain and ever afterwards remaining silent, was called *Single-speech* Hamilton. In allusion to this fact, and that he was the real JUNIUS, there is a letter in the Public Advertiser of November 30, 1771, addressed to WILLIAM JUNIUS SINGLE-SPEECH, Esq. The air of Dublin however, should seem, according to Mr. Malone's account of him, to have been more favourable to his rhetorical powers than that of Westminster: for this writer tells us that Mr. Hamilton made not less than five speeches in the Irish Parliament in the single Session of 1761—2. *Parliamentary Logic*, Pref. p. xxii.

could he have consented to have disparaged his own talents in the manner in which JUNIUS has disparaged them in his letter to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, dated October 5, 1771; independently of which, both of them solemnly denied that they were the authors of these letters, Hamilton to Mr. Courtney in his last illness, as that gentleman has personally informed the editor; and Burke expressly and satisfactorily to Sir William Draper, who purposely interrogated him upon the subject; the truth of which denial is, moreover, corroborated by the testimony of the late Mr. Woodfall, who repeatedly declared that neither of them were the writers of these compositions. Why Burke was so early and generally suspected of having written them it is not easy to say; but that he was so suspected is obvious not only from the opinion at first entertained by Sir William Draper, but from various public accusations conveyed in different newspapers and pamphlets of the day; the Public Advertiser in the month of October containing one letter under the signature of Zeno, addressed "to Junius, alias Edmund, the Jesuit of St. Omers*," another under the signature of Pliny Junior, a third under that of Querist, a fourth under that of Oxoniensis, and a fifth under that of Scævola; together with many others to the same effect: and, as has already been hinted at, an anonymous collector of many of the letters of JUNIUS, prefixing to his own edition certain anecdotes of Mr. Burke, which he confidently denominated "Anecdotes of JUNIUS," thus purposely, but fallaciously, identifying the two characters†.

* See Note to Letter LXI.

† In addition to the above proofs that Burke and JUNIUS were not the same person, the editor might refer to the prosecution which Mr. Burke instituted against Mr. Woodfall, the Printer of the Public Advertiser, and conducted with the utmost acrimony for a paper deemed libellous that appeared in this journal in the course of 1783. Considerable interest was made with Mr. Burke to induce him to drop this prosecution in different stages of its progress, but he was inexorable. The cause was tried at Guildhall, July 15, 1784, and a verdict of a hundred pounds damages was obtained against the printer; the whole of which was paid to the prosecutor. It is morally impossible that JUNIUS could have acted in this manner: every anecdote in the preceding sketch of his public life forbids the belief that he could.

If however there should be readers so inflexible as still to believe that Mr. Burke was the real writer of the Letters of JUNIUS, and that his denial of the fact to Sir William Draper was only wrung from him under the influence of fear, it will be sufficient to satisfy even such readers by shewing that the system of politics of the one was in direct opposition to that of the other upon a variety of the most important points. Burke was a decided partisan of Lord Rockingham, and continued so during the whole of that nobleman's life: JUNIUS, on the contrary, was as decided a friend to Mr. George Grenville. Each was an antagonist to the other upon the great subject of the American Stamp Act. JUNIUS was a warm and powerful advocate for triennial parliaments; Burke an inveterate enemy to them. To which the editor may be allowed to add, that while Mr. Burke in correcting his manuscripts for the press, and revising them in their passage through it, is notorious for the numerous alterations he was perpetually making, the copy with which the late Mr. Woodfall was furnished by JUNIUS for the genuine edition of his Letters contained very few amendments of any kind.

The following extracts from Mr. Burke's celebrated speech on American taxation, delivered April 19, 1774, will put the reader into possession of that gentleman's arguments upon each of the above public questions, and, compared with the short subjoined extracts from JUNIUS, will justify the contrast which the editor has thus ventured to offer. It will also present the reader with a brilliant specimen of the eloquence of both characters.

Mr. Burke observes, in the course of this celebrated speech¹, that "In the year 1765, being in a very private station, far enough from any line of business, and not having the honour of a seat in this house, it was my fortune, unknowing and unknown to the then ministry, by the intervention of a common friend to become connected with a very noble person, and at the head of the treasury depart-

¹ See 8vo edit. of his works, Vol. II. p. 389. et seq.

ment, [Lord Rockingham]. It was indeed in a situation of little rank and no consequence, suitable to the mediocrity of my talents and pretensions. But a situation near enough to enable me to see, as well as others, what was going on; and I did see in that noble person such sound principles, such an enlargement of mind, such clear and sagacious sense, and such unshaken fortitude, as have bound me, as well as others much better than me, by an inviolable attachment to him from that time forward¹."

"I think the enquiry lasted in the committee for six weeks; and at its conclusion this house, by an independent, noble, spirited, and unexpected majority; by a majority that will redeem all the acts ever done by majorities in parliament; in the teeth of all the old mercenary Swiss of state, in despite of all the speculators and augurs of political events, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of a court, gave a total repeal to the stamp act, and (if it had been so permitted) a lasting peace to this whole empire²."

"I will likewise do justice, I ought to do it, to the honourable gentleman who led us in this house [General Conway]. Far from the duplicity wickedly charged on him, he acted his part with alacrity and resolution. We all felt inspired by the example he gave us, down even to myself, the weakest in that phalanx. I declare for one, I knew well enough (it could not be concealed from any body) the true state of things; but, in my life, I never came with so much spirits into this house. It was a time for a *man* to act in. We had powerful enemies; but we had faithful and determined friends; and a glorious cause. We had a great battle to fight; but we had the means of fighting; not as now, when our arms are tied behind us. We did fight that day and conquer³."

"I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the hon. gentleman [General Conway] who made the motion for the repeal; in that crisis, when the whole trading

¹ Burke's Works, Vol. II. p. 399.

² Id. p. 403.

³ Id. p. 407.

interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favour, and your doors thrown open, shewed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined in his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. 'Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest.' I stood near him; and his face, to use the expression of the scripture of the first martyr, 'his face was as if it had been the face of an angel.' I do not know how others feel; but if I had stood in that situation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings in their profusion could bestow. I did hope, that that day's danger and honour would have been a bond to hold us all together for ever. But, alas! that, with other pleasing visions, is long since vanished.

"Sir, this act of supreme magnanimity has been represented, as if it had been a measure of an administration, that, having no scheme of their own, took a middle line, pilfered a bit from one side and a bit from the other. Sir, they took *no* middle lines. *They differed fundamentally from the schemes of both parties;* but they preserved the objects of both. They preserved the authority of Great Britain. They preserved the equity of Great Britain. They made the declaratory act; they repealed the stamp-act. They did both *fully*; because the declaratory act was *without qualification*, and the repeal of the stamp-act *total*¹."

"Sir, the agents and distributors of falsehoods have, with their usual industry, circulated another lie of the same nature with the former. It is this, that the disturbances arose from the account which had been received in America of

¹ Burke's Works, Vol. II. p. 409.

the change in the ministry. No longer awed, it seems, with the spirit of the former rulers, they thought themselves a match for what our *calumniators choose to qualify by the name of so feeble a ministry as succeeded*: Feeble in one sense these men certainly may be called; for with all their efforts, and they have made many, they have not been able to resist the distempered vigour, and insane alacrity with which you are rushing to your ruin¹.”

“On this business of America I confess I am serious, even to sadness. I have had but one opinion concerning it since I sat, and before I sat in parliament. * * * * I honestly and solemnly declare, I have in all seasons adhered to the system of 1766, for no other reason than that I think it laid deep in your truest interests, and that, by limiting the exercise, it fixes on the firmest foundations, a real, consistent, well-grounded authority in parliament. Until you come back to that system, there will be no peace for England².”

“No man can believe, that at this time of day I mean to lean on the venerable memory of a great man, whose loss we deplore in common. Our little party differences have been long ago composed; and I have acted more with him, and certainly with more pleasure with him, than ever I acted against him. Undoubtedly Mr. Grenville was a first-rate figure in this country. With a masculine understanding, and a stout and resolute heart, he had an application undissipated and unwearied. He took public business not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure he was to enjoy; and he seemed to have no delight out of this house, except in such things as some way related to the business that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will say this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous strain. It was to raise himself not by the low pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public service; and to secure himself a well-earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its

¹ Burke's Works, Vol. II. p. 414.

² Id. p. 439.

constitution, and a perfect practice in all its business. * *
 * * * * * He was bred in a profession. He was bred
 to the law, which is, in my opinion, one of the first and
 noblest of human sciences; a science which does more to
 quicken and invigorate the understanding, than all the other
 kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in
 persons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind
 exactly in the same proportion¹."

Let the reader compare the opinions contained in the
 above extracts with the following, taken almost at hazard,
 from different productions of JUNIUS, and he will have no
 difficulty in determining that the writer of the one set could
 not be the writer of the other.

"To prove the meaning and intent of the legislature, will
 require a minute and tedious deduction. To investigate a
 question of law demands some labour and attention, though
 very little genius or sagacity. As a practical profession, the
 study of the law requires but a moderate portion of abilities.
 The learning of a pleader is usually upon a level with his
 integrity. The indiscriminate defence of right and wrong
 contracts the understanding, while it corrupts the heart.
 Subtlety is soon mistaken for wisdom, and impunity for
 virtue. If there be any instances upon record, as some there
 are undoubtedly, of genius and morality united in a lawyer,
 they are distinguished by their singularity, and operate as
 exceptions²."

"Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will
 endeavour (and if I live, will assuredly attempt it,) to con-
 vince the English nation, by arguments to *my* understanding
 unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a triennial, and
 banish the idea of an annual parliament. * * * * * I am
 convinced that, if shortening the duration of parliaments
 (which in effect is keeping the representative under the rod
 of the constituent) be not made the basis of our new par-
 liamentary jurisprudence, other checks or improvements
 signify nothing³."

¹ Burke's Works, Vol. II. p. 389.

² Vol. II. p. 129 of the present edition.

³ Id. p. 149.

“When the Septennial Act passed, the legislature did what, apparently and palpably, they had no power to do; but they did more than people in general were aware of; they, in effect disfranchised the whole kingdom for four years¹.”

“It would be to no purpose at present to renew a discussion of the merits of the Stamp Act, though I am convinced that even the people who were most clamorous against it, either never understood, or wilfully misrepresented every part of it. But it is truly astonishing that a great number of people should have so little foreseen the inevitable consequence of repealing it. * * * * * There was indeed one man, [G. Grenville] who wisely foresaw every circumstance which has since happened, and who, with a patriot’s spirit, opposed himself to the torrent. He told us, that, if we thought the loss of outstanding debts, and of our American trade, a mischief of the first magnitude, such an injudicious compliance with the terms dictated by the colonies, was the way to make it sure and unavoidable. It was *ne moriari, mori*. We see the prophecy verified in every particular, and if this great and good man was mistaken in any one instance, it was, perhaps, that he did not expect his predictions to be fulfilled so soon as they have been².”

“It is not many months since you gave me an opportunity of demonstrating to the nation, as far as rational inference and probability could extend, that the hopes which some men seemed to entertain, or to profess at least, with regard to America, were without a shadow of foundation. * * * * * But whatever were their views or expectations, whether it was the mere enmity of party, or the real persuasion that they had but a little time to live in office, every circumstance that I then foretold is confirmed by experience. * * * * * We find ourselves at last reduced to the dreadful alternative of either making war upon our colonies, or of suffering them to erect themselves into independent states. It is not that I hesitate now upon the

¹ Vol. II. p. 151.

² Id. p. 192.

choice we are to make. Every thing must be hazarded. But what infamy, what punishment do these men deserve, whose folly or whose treachery hath reduced us to this state, in which we cannot give up the cause without a certainty of ruin, nor maintain it without such a struggle as must shake the empire. * * * * * Mr. Conway since last December has, in the face of the House of Commons, defended the resistance of the colonies upon what he called revolution principles. * * * * * If we look for their motives, we shall find them such as weak and interested men usually act upon. They were weak enough to hope that the crisis of Great Britain and America would be reserved for their successors in office, and they were determined to hazard even the ruin of their country, rather than furnish the man [G. Grenville] whom they feared and hated, with the melancholy triumph of having truly foretold the consequences of their own misconduct. But this, such as it is, the triumph of a heart that bleeds at every vein, they cannot deprive him of. They dreaded the acknowledgment of his superiority over them, and the loss of their own authority and credit, more than the rebellion of near half the empire against the supreme legislature. * * * * * It is impossible to conceal from ourselves, that we are at this moment on the brink of a dreadful precipice; the question is whether we shall submit to be guided by the hand which hath driven us to it, or whether we shall follow the patriot voice [G. Grenville's] which has not ceased to warn us of our dangers, and which would still declare the way to safety and to honour¹."

"Whether it be matter of honour or reproach, it is at least a singular circumstance, that whoever is hardy enough to maintain the cause of Great Britain, against subjects who disown her authority, or to raise his voice in defence of the laws and constitution, is immediately pointed out to the public for Mr. Grenville's friend * * * * * It is true he professes doctrines which would be treason in America, but in England at least he has the laws on his side, and if it

¹ Miscellaneous Letters, No. xxix. Vol. II. p. 240.

be a crime to support the supremacy of the British legislature, the Sovereign, the Lords and the Commons are as guilty as he is. * * * * * If the pretensions of the colonies had not been abetted by something worse than a faction here the stamp act would have executed itself. Every clause of it was so full and explicit that it wanted no further instruction; nor was it of that nature that required a military hand to carry it into execution. For the truth of this I am ready to appeal even to the colonies themselves. * * * * *

* * * Your correspondent [who had answered *Miscell. Lett. xxix.*] confesses that Mr. Grenville is still respectable; yet he warns the friends of that gentleman not to provoke him, lest he should tell them what they may not like to hear. These are but words. He means as little when he threatens as when he condescends to applaud. Let us meet upon the fair ground of truth, and if he finds one vulnerable part in Mr. Grenville's character, let him fix his poisoned arrow there¹."

"If there be any thing improper in this address, [a letter addressed to G. Grenville] the singularity of your present situation will, I hope, excuse it. Your conduct attracts the attention, because it is highly interesting to the welfare of the public, and a private man who only expresses what thousands think, cannot well be accused of flattery or detraction. * * *

* * * * This letter, I doubt not, will be attributed to some party friend, by men who expect no applause but from their dependents. But you, Sir, have the testimony of your enemies in your favour. After years of opposition, we see them revert to those very measures with violence, with hazard and disgrace, which in the first instance might have been conducted with ease, with dignity and moderation.

"While parliament preserves its constitutional authority, you will preserve yours. As long as there is a real representation of the people, you will be heard in that great assembly with attention, deference and respect; and if fatally for England the designs of the present ministry should

¹ *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. xxxi. Vol. II. p. 245.

at last succeed, you will have the consolation to reflect that your voice was heard, until the voice of truth and reason was drowned in the din of arms; and that your influence in parliament was irresistible, until every question was decided by the sword¹."

How far the same principles were supported by the same writer under the signature of JUNIUS, the reader will find in Vol. I. p. 35. and Vol. II. p. 90. and it is not necessary to copy farther.

Mr. Malone, in his preface to a well-known work of Mr. Hamilton, entitled *Parliamentary Logic*², offers a variety of remarks in disproof that this gentleman was the writer of the letters, several of which are possessed of sufficient force, though few persons will perhaps agree with him in believing that if Hamilton had written them, he would have written them better. The following are his chief arguments:

"Now (not to insist on his own solemn asseveration near the time of his death, that he was not the author of JUNIUS³) Mr. Hamilton was so far from being an ardent party man, that during the long period above mentioned [from Jan. 1769 to Jan. 1772] he never closely connected himself with any party. * * * * Notwithstanding his extreme love of political discussion, he never, it is believed, was heard to speak of any administration or any opposition with vehemence either of censure or of praise; a character so opposite to the fervent and sometimes coarse acrimony of JUNIUS, that this consideration alone is sufficient to settle the point, as far as relates to our author, for ever. * * * * On the question—who *was* the author?—he was as free to talk as any other person, and often did express his opinion concerning it to the writer of this short memoir; an opinion nearly coinciding with that of those persons who appear to have had the best means of information on the subject. In a

¹ Miscellaneous Letters, No. LIII. Vol. II. p. 311.

² Page xxix. *et seq.*

³ "It has been said that he at the same time declared that he *knew* who was the author; but unquestionably he never made any such declaration." MALONE.

conversation on this much agitated point, he once said to an intimate friend, in a tone between seriousness and pleasantry, —‘ You know, H * * * * *, I could have written better papers than those of JUNIUS;’ and so the gentleman whom he addressed, who was himself distinguished for his rhetorical powers, and a very competent judge, as well as many other persons, thought.

“ It may be added, that his style of composition was entirely different from that of this writer. * * * * * That he had none of that minute *commissarial* knowledge of petty military matters, which is displayed in some of the earlier papers of JUNIUS.

“ And finally it may be observed, that the figures and allusions of JUNIUS are often of so different a race from those which our author [Hamilton] would have used, that he never spoke of some of them without the strongest disapprobation; and particularly when a friend, for the purpose of drawing him out, affected to think him the writer of these papers; and bantering him on the subject, taxed him with that passage in which a nobleman, then in a high office, is said to have ‘ travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the SCORPION, in which he *stung* Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a VIRGIN,’ &c. as if this imagery were much in his style,—Mr. Hamilton with great vehemence exclaimed, ‘ had I written such a sentence as that, I should have thought I had forfeited all pretensions to good taste in composition for ever!’ ”

Mr. Malone further observes, that Hamilton filled the office of chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, from September 1763 to April 1784, during the very period in which all the letters of JUNIUS appeared before the public; and it will not very readily be credited by any one that this is likely to have been the exact quarter from which the writer of the letters in question fulminated his severe criminations against government. The subject moreover of parliamentary reform, for which JUNIUS was so zealous an advocate, Mr. Malone expressly tells us was considered by Hamilton to be “ of so dangerous a tendency, that he once

said to a friend now living, that he would sooner suffer his right hand to be cut off, than vote for it."

The only reason indeed that appears for these letters having ever been attributed to Hamilton is, that on a certain morning he told the Duke of Richmond, as has been already hinted at¹, the *substance* of a letter of JUNIUS which he pretended to have just read in the Public Advertiser; but which, on consulting the Public Advertiser, was found not to appear there, an apology instead of it being offered for its postponement till the next day, when the letter thus previously adverted to by Hamilton did actually make its appearance. That Hamilton, therefore, had a knowledge of the existence and purport of this letter is unquestionable; but without conceiving him the author of it, it is easy to account for the fact, by supposing him (as we have supposed already) to have had it read to him by his friend Woodfall, antecedently to its being printed.

Another character that has been started as a claimant to the Letters of JUNIUS, is the late Dr. Butler, bishop of Hereford, formerly secretary to the Right Hon. Bilson Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards Lord Stawell. Dr. Butler was a man of some talents, and was occasionally a political writer, and felt no small disgust and mortification upon his patron's dismissal from office. But he never discovered those talents that could in any respect put him upon an equality with JUNIUS. He was moreover a man of mild disposition, and in no respect celebrated for political courage. To which general remarks, in contravention of this gentleman's claim, the editor begs leave to subjoin the following extract of a letter upon the subject, addressed by a friend of Dr. Butler's, and who himself took an active part in the politics of the times, to a high official character of the present day, and which he has been allowed the liberty of copying:—

"Mr. Wilkes shewed me the letters he received *privately* from JUNIUS: *parts* of one of these were printed in the public

¹ See Preliminary Essay, p *6

papers at the request of the Bill of Rights. The autograph was remarkable—it was firm and precise, and did not appear to me at all disguised. Mr. Wilkes had been intimate with Bishop Butler when quartered as colonel of the militia at Winchester; and from some very curious concurrent circumstances, he had strong reasons for considering that the Bishop was the author, and I had some reasons for conjecturing the same. Yet I must confess, that if these suspicions were stronger and more confirmed, yet I think I should require more substantial proofs; and my reasons are, that from all I was ever able to learn of the Bishop's *personal character*, he was incapable of discovering, or feeling those rancorous sentiments, so unbecoming his character as a christian, and his station as a prelate, expressed towards the Duke of Grafton, Lord North, Sir William Draper, and others—more especially the King. Nor do I think that his being the sole depository of his own secret, which, as JUNIUS says, would be, and I fancy *was*, buried in everlasting oblivion, when he was entombed; would have encouraged him to have used such opprobrious language.”

The pretensions of the Rev. Philip Rosenhagen, though adverted to in a preceding edition of these letters, are hardly worth noticing. He was at one time chaplain to the 8th regiment of foot; and is said to have endeavoured to impose upon Lord North with a story of his having been the author of the letters in order to induce his Lordship to settle a pension upon him. It is sufficient to observe, that Mr. Rosenhagen, who was a school-fellow of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, continued on terms of acquaintance with him in subsequent life; and occasionally wrote for the Public Advertiser: but was repeatedly declared by Mr. Woodfall, who must have been a competent evidence as to the fact, not to be the author of JUNIUS's letters. A private letter of Rosenhagen's to Mr. Woodfall is still in the possession of his son, and nothing can be more different from each other than this autograph and that of JUNIUS.

It has been said in an American periodical work entitled “The Wilmington Mirror,” that General Lee in confidence

communicated to a friend the important secret that he was the author of these celebrated letters; but, whether Lee ever made such a communication or not, nothing is more palpable than that he did not write them—since it is a notorious fact, that during the whole, or nearly the whole of the period in which they successively appeared, this officer was on the continent of Europe, travelling from place to place, and occupying the whole of his time in very different pursuits.

The friend to whom this communication is said to have been made, is a Mr. T. Rodney, who declares as follows in a communication inserted in the above-mentioned American periodical work.

“In the fall of 1773, not long after General Lee had arrived in America, I had the pleasure of spending an afternoon in his company, when there was no other person present. Our conversation chiefly turned on politics, and was mutually free and open. Among other things, the Letters of JUNIUS were mentioned, and General Lee asked me, who was conjectured to be the author of these letters. I replied, our conjectures here generally followed those started in England; but for myself, I concluded, from the spirit, style, patriotism, and political information which they displayed, that Lord Chatham was the author; and yet there were some sentiments there that indicated his not being the author. General Lee immediately replied, with considerable animation, affirming, that to his certain knowledge, Lord Chatham was not the author; neither did he know who the author was, any more than I did; that there was not a man in the world, no, not even Woodfall, the publisher, that knew who the author was; that the secret rested solely with himself, and for ever would remain with him.

“Feeling, in some degree, surprised at this unexpected declaration, after pausing a little, I replied: ‘No, General Lee, if you certainly know what you have affirmed, it can no longer remain solely with him; for, certainly, no one could know what you have affirmed but the author himself!’

“Recollecting himself, he replied: ‘I have unguardedly committed myself, and it would be but folly to deny to you

that I am the author; but I must request that you will not reveal it during my life; for it never was, nor never will be revealed by me to any other.' He then proceeded to mention several circumstances to verify his being the author; and, among them, that of his going over to the Continent, and absenting himself from England most of the time in which these Letters were first published in London, &c. &c. This he thought necessary, lest, by some accident, the author should become known, or at least suspected, which might have been his ruin, had he been known to the court of London, &c."

The account from which we have made this extract was reprinted in the *St. James's Chronicle* for April 16, 1803, which the editor prefaces by observing, "Of Mr. Rodney, or of the degree of credit that may reasonably be attached to his declaration, we know nothing; but the subject is so curious, that we think our readers will not be averse from having their attention once more drawn to it."

The public do not in any degree appear to have been influenced either by General Lee's pretended assertion, or Mr. Rodney's positive declaration: and this claim had totally died away like the rest, when in 1807 it was revived by Dr. Girdlestone of Yarmouth, Norfolk, who endeavoured to establish General Lee's pretensions by a comparison of Rodney's statement with Mr. Langworthy's memoirs of the general's life, in a pamphlet published anonymously, under the title of "Reasons for rejecting the presumptive evidence of Mr. Almon, that Mr. Hugh Boyd was the writer of JUNIUS, with passages selected to prove the real author of the Letters of JUNIUS." And in consequence of this revival of Mr. Lee's claim, the editor feels himself called upon to examine its foundation somewhat more in detail.

The passages selected are in no respect convincing to his mind, and do not appear to have been so to that of the public. But without entering upon so disputable a question as that of a superiority of literary taste, it will be sufficient to remark that the great distance of General Lee from England

during the period in which the Letters of JUNIUS were published, together with the different line of politics which he pursued, render it impossible that Lee could have been the author of these letters.

The correspondence of General Lee previous to his quitting England for America, in August, 1773, as published by Mr. Langworthy in the memoirs of his life, and adverted to in Dr. Girdlestone's pamphlet, extend through a period of about thirteen months, from Dec. 1, 1766, to Jan. 19, 1768, and give us the following dates.

1766, Dec. 1. To the King of Poland, from London.

25. The Prince of Poland, the same.

1767, May 1. Mr. Coleman, from Warsaw.

2. Mrs. Macauley¹, the same.

4. Louisa C. the same.

4. Lord Thanet, the same.

Aug. 16. King of Poland, Kamineck.

1768, Jan. 19. Sir C. Davers, Dijon.

The dates of the letters written by JUNIUS under his occasional signatures are as follows:

1767, April 28. Poplicola.

May 28. The same in answer to a letter of Sir William Draper's, of May 21.

June 24. Anti-Sejanus, Jun.

Aug. 25. A Faithful Monitor, on the subject of Lord Townshend's appointment to be Lord Lieut. of Ireland, which took place the preceding Aug. 12.

Sept. 16. Correggio.

Oct. 12. Moderator in answer to a letter of October 6.

22. Grand Council.

31. No signature, in answer to a letter of Oct. 27.

¹ The letter was not addressed to Mrs. Macauley, but to Lady Blake. Edit. of the present work.

Dec. 5. Y. Z. on the King's speech, on opening the parliament Nov. 24, 1767: the receipt of which will be found acknowledged by the printer in his usual method among the "answers to correspondents," Nov. 30.

19. No signature, on the subject of American politics.

22. Downright.

It is only necessary for the reader to compare these two lists of dates, and places; as for example, London, and Warsaw, or Kamineck, during the two months of May and August, and to observe the rapidity with which the Letters of JUNIUS were furnished, in answer to the different subjects discussed, to obtain a full proof that the latter list of letters could not have been written by the author of the former.

These remarks however relate only to the year 1767. Let us see how the account stands for 1769, being the year in which the author first appeared before the public under his favourite signature (with the single exception of Miscellaneous Letter, No. LII.) It is difficult to ascertain exactly at what places General Lee was residing during this period. Langworthy's memoirs abound with erroneous dates, which are not material however to the present question. The only serviceable hint that can be collected from them is, that he was rambling somewhere or other abroad, and "could never stay long in one place:" to which the editor adds, "that we can collect nothing material relative to the adventures of his travels, as his memorandum books only mention the names of the towns and cities through which he passed. That he was a most rapid and very active traveller is certain," p. 8. The account furnished by Rodney confirms this statement, by telling us, "He then proceeded to mention several circumstances to verify his being the author; and, among them, that of his going over to the continent, and absenting himself from England most of the time in which these letters were first published in London, &c. &c. This he thought necessary, lest, by some accident, the author

should become known, or, at least, suspected, which might have been his ruin, had he been known to the Court of London, &c."

It is clear, therefore, that during the whole or the greater part of 1769, General Lee was rambling over the continent; and of course had no possibility of keeping up a very close correspondence with any person at home. Yet the following table of the Letters of JUNIUS, written either under his favourite or occasional signatures, or privately to Mr. Woodfall, will shew that in the course of this very year, the author maintained not less than fifty-four communications with Mr. Woodfall: that not a single month passed without one or more acts of intercourse: that some of them had not less than seven, and many of them not less than six, at times directed to events that had occurred only a few days antecedently: that the two most distant communications were not more than three weeks apart, that several of them were daily, and the greater number of them not more than a week from each other.

1769.	January	21.	July	8.	October	5.
	February	7.	_____	15.	—	13.
	_____	21.	_____	17.	_____	17.
	March	3.	_____	19.	_____	19.
	_____	18.	_____	21.	_____	20.
	April	7.	_____	29.	November	8.
	_____	10.	August	1.	_____	12.
	_____	12.	_____	6.	_____	14.
	_____	20.	_____	8.	_____	15.
	_____	21.	_____	14.	_____	16.
	_____	24.	_____	16.	_____	25.
	_____	27.	_____	22.	_____	25.
	May	6.	September	4.	_____	29.
	_____	30.	_____	7.	December	2.
	June	6.	_____	8.	_____	12.
	_____	10.	_____	10.	_____	19.
	_____	12.	_____	19.	_____	19.
	_____	22.	_____	25.	_____	26.

There is but one conclusion that can be drawn from a perusal of this table: which is, that the writer of the letters of which it forms a diary, could not have been travelling

over the continent during the year 1769 to which it is limited, and consequently that General Lee, who was travelling over the continent, and who appears to have been chiefly in remote northern parts of it, could not be JUNIUS.

The editor has observed that it is equally obvious General Lee could not have been JUNIUS, from the different line of politics professed by the two characters; and not merely professed but fought for to his own outlawry by the former. JUNIUS, it has been already remarked, was a warm and determined friend to Mr. George Grenville: a zealous advocate for the stamp act, Mr. Grenville's most celebrated measure; and a decided upholder of the power of the British parliament to legislate for America, in the same manner as for any county in England. And it was because Mr. Lee was an inveterate oppugner of these doctrines, and was determined to fight against them, and even against his native country, if she insisted upon them, that he fled to the United States, took a lead in their armies, and powerfully contributed to their independence. The ensuing extracts taken from his letters contained in Mr. Langworthy's Memoirs, give his own opinions in his own words; and they may be compared with those of JUNIUS that follow the preceding extracts from Mr. Burke.

“ You tell me the Americans are the most merciful people on the face of the earth: I think so too; and the strongest instance of it is, that they did long ago hang up you, and *every advocate for the stamp act*¹.”

“ As to the rest who form what is called the opposition, they are so odious or contemptible, that the favourite himself is preferable to them; such as GRENVILLE, Bedford, Newcastle, and their associates. Temple is one of the most ridiculous order of coxcombs².”

“ A formidable opposition is expected; but the heads are too odious to the nation in general, in my opinion, to carry their point. Such as Bedford, Sandwich, G. GRENVILLE, and, with submission, your friend Mansfield³.”

¹ Memoirs, p. 54, in a letter to W. H. Drayton, a member of congress.

² *Ib.* p. 294.

³ *Ib.* p. 297.

“ We have had twenty different accounts of your arrival at Boston, which have been regularly contradicted the next morning; but as I now find it certain that you are arrived, I shall not delay a single instant addressing myself to you. It is a duty I owe to the friendship I have long and sincerely professed for you; a friendship to which you have the strongest claims from the first moment of our acquaintance; there is no man from whom I have received so many testimonies of esteem and affection; there is no man whose esteem and affection could in my opinion have done me greater honour. * * * * * I shall not trouble you with my opinion of the right of taxing America without her own consent, as I am afraid from what I have seen of your speeches, that you have already formed your creed on this article; but I will boldly affirm, had this right been established by a thousand statutes, had America admitted it from time immemorial, it would be the duty of every good Englishman to exert his utmost to divest parliament of this right, as it must inevitably work the subversion of the whole empire. * * * * * On these principles, I say, sir, every good Englishman, abstracted of all regard for America, must oppose her being taxed by the British parliament; for my own part I am convinced that no argument (not totally abhorrent from the spirit of liberty, and the British constitution,) can be produced in support of this right. * * * * * I have now, sir, only to entreat, that whatever measure you pursue, whether those which your real friends (myself among the rest) would wish, or unfortunately those which our accursed misrulers shall dictate, you will still believe me to be personally, with the greatest sincerity and affection, yours, &c. C. LEE¹. ”

It would be waste of time to pursue the claim of General Lee any further: though a multitude of similar proofs to the same effect might be offered if necessary.

Another character to whom these letters have been

¹ Letter to persuade General Burgoyne to join the Americans *Memoirs*, p. 323—330. See *JUNIVS*'s opinion of General Burgoyne, Vol. I. p. 189.

ascribed is Mr. Wilkes; but that he is not the author of them must be clear to every one who will merely give a glance at either the public or the private letters. Wilkes could not have abused himself in the manner he is occasionally abused in the former; nor would he have said in the latter (since there was no necessity for his so saying) "I have been out of town for three weeks¹" at a time when he was closely confined in the King's Bench.

Of all the pretenders however to the honour of having written the letters of JUNIUS, Hugh Macauley Boyd has been brought forward with the most confidence: yet of all of them there is not one whose claims are so easily and completely refuted. It is nevertheless necessary, from the assurance with which they have been urged, to examine them with some degree of detail.

Hugh Macauley Boyd was an Irishman of a respectable family, who was educated for the bar, which he deserted, at an early age, for politics, and an unsettled life, that perpetually involved him in pecuniary distresses; and who is known as the author of "The Freeholder," which he wrote at Belfast, in the beginning of 1776; "The Whig," consisting of a series of revolutionary papers which he published in the *London Courant*, between November, 1779, and March, 1780, and the "Indian Observer," a miscellany of periodical essays published at Madras in 1793². In his public conversation he was an enthusiastic admirer of the style and principles of JUNIUS; and in his political effusions he perpetually strove to imitate his manner; and, in many instances, copied his sentences verbally. On this last account the three advocates for his fame, Mr. Almon who has introduced him into his *Biographical Anecdotes*, Mr. Campbell who

¹ Private Letters, No. 11. This letter is dated Nov. 8, 1769. Wilkes entered the King's Bench prison April 27, 1768, and was liberated April 18, 1770—See further the private correspondence between JUNIUS and Mr. Wilkes.

² He is also said by his friends to have written various letters in the *Public Advertiser*, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and afterwards in 1779; the former under a questionable signature, the latter under that of *Democrates* or *Democratius*.

has published a life of him, and prefixed it to a new edition of "Boyd's Works," and Mr. George Chalmers, who has entered largely into the subject, in his "Appendix to the Supplemental Apology," have strenuously contended that Boyd and JUNIUS were the same person; an opinion which, they think, is rendered decisive from the following anecdote, as given in the words of Mr. Chalmers himself.

"Boyd was in the habit of frequenting the shop of Almon, who detected him, as the writer of JUNIUS, as early as the autumn of 1769. At a meeting of the booksellers and printers, H. S. Woodfall read a letter of JUNIUS, which he had just received, because it contained a passage, that related to the business of the meeting. Almon had thereby an opportunity of seeing the hand-writing of the manuscript, without disclosing his thoughts of the discovery. The next time that Boyd called on him in Piccadilly, Almon said to him, 'I have seen a part of one of JUNIUS's Letters, in manuscript, which I believe is your hand-writing.' *Boyd instantly changed colour;* and after a short pause, he said, 'the similitude of hand-writing is not a conclusive fact,' [proof.] Now, Almon does not deliver these intimations, as mere opinions; but, he speaks, like a witness, to facts, which he knows to be true. It is a fact, then, that Almon taxed Boyd with being the writer of JUNIUS's Letters; that *Boyd thereupon changed colour;* and that he only turned off the imputation, by the obvious remark, that comparison of hand-writing is not decisive evidence, to prove the writer. Add to this testimony, that Boyd was, by nature, *confident*, and, by habit, *a man of the town*, a sort of character, who is not apt to blush. From the epoch of this detection, it was the practice of Almon, when he was asked who was the writer of JUNIUS, to say, 'that he suspected JUNIUS was a broken gentleman, without a guinea in his pocket.'

Mr. Almon's own words in relating this anecdote are as follows: "The moment I saw the hand-writing I had *a strong suspicion* that it was Mr. Boyd's, whose hand-writing I knew, having *received several letters from him concerning books.*" And he afterwards adds in reference to Boyd's reply to him,

“though these words do not acknowledge the truth of the *suspicion*, they do not, however, positively deny it¹.”

This reply, that “the similitude of hand-writing is not a conclusive proof,” is called by Mr. Chalmers an “*obvious remark*,” he might have added that the remark is just as *general* as it is *obvious*, and consequently that it admits of no *particular* deduction. It neither denies nor affirms, but leaves the question, or rather the *suspicion*, precisely where it was at first.

But, say these gentlemen, it was preceded by a *change of colour*: yet whether this change were to a flush or a paleness, or any other hue does not appear. Let it be taken for granted, however, that they mean Macauley Boyd *blushed*, and consequently that he exhibited, on the spur of the moment, a secret sense of shame: yet what had that man to be ashamed of, upon a detection of this kind, who openly gloried in the principles of JUNIUS, who had carried his own avowed sentiments immeasurably farther, who was for ever publicly imitating his style and copying his phrases?—this man, who was “by nature *confident*, and by habit a *man of the town*, a sort of character who is not apt to blush,” nothing surely could have given him a higher delight than to have been suspected to have been JUNIUS himself; nothing could more agreeably have flattered his vanity. His cheeks *glowed* with a *flush* of rapture upon the supposed detection, and he could not even consent to dissipate the fond illusion by telling the whole truth. *Shame* he could not feel; and as to the passion of *fear* it must not be mentioned for a moment: *fear* would have made him *turn pale*, but not have *blushed*.

Yet these gentlemen, in the ardour of their pursuit, prove too much for their own cause; since we at length find that, after all, there was no *SIMILITUDE* of hand-writing whatever, or at least none that could answer their purpose. The letter shewn by Woodfall, Almon asserted to be in the *common* hand-writing of Boyd, the hand-writing employed by him in his common and avowed transactions, and that he

¹ Letter from J. Almon to L. D. Campbell, Esq. Dec. 10, 1798.

knew it to be Boyd's on this very account. Now it so happened that Mr. Woodfall was also well acquainted, in consequence of a similar correspondence, with the hand-writing of Mr. Boyd; and Woodfall, whose veracity could not be questioned, and who had far better opportunities of comparing the autographs together, denied that the letters of JUNIUS were written in the hand-writing of Boyd; adding, that Almon, from the casual glance he had obtained, had conjectured erroneously. The difficulty was felt and acknowledged; and the following ingenious expedient was devised to get rid of it. It was contended that Boyd had, about the period of JUNIUS's first appearance, accustomed himself to what he used to call, and his commentators and biographers call after him, a *disguised* hand; and that he uniformly employed this *disguised* hand in writing these letters, in order to prevent detection. And this ingenious discovery was afterwards brought forward as an evidence of Boyd's good sense and discretion, and an additional demonstration that he was the actual writer of these letters. "It would require strong proof indeed," says Mr. Chalmers, "to satisfy a reasonable mind, that the writer of JUNIUS's Letters would send them to the printer in his real hand-writing. It is impossible to conceive, that such a man, as Boyd, would take such successful pains to disguise his hand-writing, if he had not had some design to deceive the world."

But this is to involve the argument in even more self-contradiction than ever. JUNIUS, whoever he was, wrote his letters, we are told, in a *disguised hand-writing*, in order to avoid detection: the letter which Almon saw was not in a *disguised hand-writing*, but in the open and *avowed hand-writing* of Boyd, with which Almon was well acquainted, and which was made use of by Boyd in *his common transactions and correspondence*. Upon their own reasoning therefore, Boyd could *not* have been the author of the letters of JUNIUS.

But we are told, in reply to this second difficulty, that the disguised hand-writing of Boyd, though different from his common hand-writing, was nevertheless not so different, but

that those who were familiar with the latter could easily trace its origin, and identify it with the former: "I have already proved," says Mr. Campbell, "that those who were acquainted with the *one* would, upon inspection of the *other*, discover a strong resemblance between them¹." The result of course is, that Almon penetrated the deception, although from a momentary glance, while Woodfall was incapable of doing so, notwithstanding his superior opportunities. Yet surely never was such a *disguise* either attempted or conceived before. The author wishes, we are told, to dissemble his hand-writing, in order to avoid detection; and he devises a *disguised* hand-writing that can only be traced home, and identified by those who are acquainted with his common hand-writing; as if his common hand-writing could be identified by strangers as a matter of course.

A *disguised* hand-writing that should conceal him from all who were ignorant of his *real* hand-writing, and expose him to all who were acquainted with it, was a truly brilliant invention, and altogether worthy of Mr. Boyd's country and pretensions. Yet after all, we must not forget, that the hand-writing supposed to have been seen by Almon, if Boyd's at all, was not the mystical, esoteric autography, the *ἱερὰ γράμματα* of the initiated, the disguised character that could be detected by nobody but those who were acquainted with his common writing, but the common and undisguised character itself, his general and avowed hand-writing employed on purposes of ordinary business, and which, says Mr. Almon, "I knew," in consequence of "having received several letters from him CONCERNING BOOKS."

But this is not the only disguise which Mr. Boyd must have had recourse to, and which he is admitted to have had recourse to, if he were the real author of these celebrated epistles. He must have disguised his *usual style* even more than his *usual hand-writing*, and that by the very extraordinary assumption of an excellence which does not elsewhere appear to have belonged to him; for it is not pre-

¹ Life of Boyd, p. 157.

tended by any of his advocates that the *general merit* of any one of his *acknowledged* productions is equal to the *general merit* of the letters of JUNIUS; but merely asserted that there is in his works a *general imitation* of the manner of the latter, together with an occasional copy of his very phrases and images, and that he has *at times* produced passages not inferior to some of the best that JUNIUS ever wrote. "Of all the characters," says Mr. Chalmers himself, "who knew Boyd personally, I have only met with *one* gentleman who is of opinion that he was able to write JUNIUS's letters¹." And Mr. Campbell has hence conceived it necessary to offer two reasons for this palpable inferiority of style. The one is, that all the *acknowledged* productions of Boyd were written in a hurry,—*stans pede in uno*—while the letters of JUNIUS, contrary indeed to his otherwise uniform method, were possibly composed with considerable pains, and corrected by numerous revisions. The other consists of a long extract from the Rambler, in denial of the position that "because a man has once written well, he can never under any circumstances write ill²."

Now the whole of this reasoning, if *reasoning* it may be called, is founded on gratuitous assumptions alone, and may be just as fairly applied to any one else of the supposed writers of the Letters of JUNIUS as to Mr. Boyd. It is admitted that he occasionally wrote passages of considerable merit; and it is admitted also, that he was an imitator of JUNIUS's style, and a frequent copyist of his very words and images. But this last fact is against Boyd, instead of being in his favour, for the style of JUNIUS is original and strictly his own, he is nowhere a copyist, and much less a copyist of himself. Boyd might characteristically write, as he has done in his Freeholder, "long enough have our eyes ached over this *barren prospect, where no verdure of virtue quickens*," because JUNIUS before him had written "I turn with pleasure from that *barren waste in which no salutary*

¹ Supplement, p. 94.

² Campbell's Life of Boyd, p. 31.

plant takes root, *no verdure quickens;*" but JUNIUS could not write so, because his genius was far too fertile for him to be driven to the dire necessity of copying from his own metaphors, and even had he done it in the present instance, he was too manly a writer to have introduced into the simile the affected and contemptible alliteration of "*verdure of virtue.*"

If Boyd therefore wrote JUNIUS, he must have been possessed of powers of which he has never otherwise given any evidence whatever, and must not only have *disguised his hand*, but as was well observed on a former occasion by the late Mr. W. Woodfall, have *disguised his style* at the same time; and this too "in that most extraordinary way of writing above his own reach of literary talent," judging of his abilities from every existing and *acknowledged* document. To conceive that a man of versatile genius might disguise his accustomed style of writing by adopting some other style *on a level with his own*, is not difficult; but to conceive, under the circumstances of his *authenticated* talents, that Boyd could disguise his avowed style by assuming that of JUNIUS, is to conceive, though the difference between them was not altogether so extreme, that a sign-post painter might disguise himself under the style of Sir Joshua Reynolds, or a street-fiddler under that of Cramer.

In effect Boyd appears to have been an enthusiastic admirer of the writings of JUNIUS, ambitious enough to try to imitate them, and vain enough to wish to be thought the author of them. By the deep interest he displayed in their behalf, he *once or twice*¹ induced his wife to challenge him with having written them;—when accidentally taxed by Almon with the same fact, he could not restrain his feelings, and his cheeks flushed with rapture beneath the suspicion; and when, upon a visit to Ireland in the year 1776, he wrote his address to the electors of Antrim, under the title of "*The Freeholder*," he so far succeeded by eulogizing JUNIUS, by quoting his letters, and imitating his manner,

¹ Campbell's Life of Boyd, p. 136.

as to induce a few other persons to entertain the same idea, and, what was of no small gratification to him, to acquire the honour of being generally denominated JUNIUS the second. Yet, say his advocates, he never dared to avow that he was JUNIUS, because JUNIUS had declared in his Dedication, "I am the sole depository of my own secret, and it shall perish with me."

Upon the whole, however, these visits to Ireland are by no means favourable to Mr. Boyd's claims; for the letters of JUNIUS published in August, 1768, under the signatures of Atticus and Lucius, were written during one of them; and from the rapidity with which they seized hold of the events of the moment, and replied to the numerous vindications and apologies of the government-party, *must have been written* (not at Belfast) but *in London, or its immediate vicinity*¹. While his visit to the same country in 1772 was

¹ Campbell, in his *Life of Boyd*, p. 22, relates the following anecdote of that gentleman, which occurred during the before-mentioned visit to Ireland in the summer of 1768. "One evening while Mr. Flood sat at his own table, after dinner, entertaining a large company, of which Mr. Boyd was one, he received an anonymous note, enclosing a letter on the state of parties, signed *Sindercombe*. The note contained a request that Mr. Flood would peruse the inclosed letter, and that if it met his approbation he would get it published, which he accordingly did in a paper of the following morning, and the letter produced a very strong sensation on the public mind." Mr. Campbell proceeds to state that "every endeavour was made, without effect, to discover the author: that Mrs. Boyd always thought that *Sindercombe* was her husband's production, and that many years afterwards she was satisfied that her conjecture was founded in fact." If Mrs. Boyd were correct in her conjecture, as to her husband being the author of the letter under this signature, it would, of itself, ali but indisputably, prove that he was not the writer of the Letters of JUNIUS; as on Dec. 26, 1772, nearly twelve months after JUNIUS had ceased to publish under this signature, and many months after he had declined to write under any other, *Sindercombe* addresses the following card to him:

"For the *Public Advertiser*.

A CARD.

Dec. 26, 1772.

"SINDERCOMBE laments that JUNIUS is silent at a season that demands his utmost eloquence. *Sindercombe* has long waited with impatience for the completion of that promise, in which every friend to liberty is so deeply interested. JUNIUS has long since pledged himself that the

chiefly in consequence of extreme pecuniary distress, which had oppressed him for the preceding eighteen months or two years, and had driven him from the world, through a fear of being arrested; such were the opposite circumstances of JUNIUS, that the latter was refusing at this very moment, the moiety of the profits resulting from the sale of his own edition of his letters, repeatedly pressed upon him, and to which he was fairly entitled; and offering, from a competent purse, a pecuniary indemnification to Woodfall on account of his prosecution by the crown.

There is, however, a note inserted in JUNIUS' own edition of these letters¹, in relating to Lord Irnham, and his baseness to a young and confidential friend, that has been conceived by these same gentlemen as almost decisive in favour of Mr. Boyd's pretensions; the young man here alluded to, having been, as it should seem, one of Mrs. Boyd's guardians; the two families to which the fact relates, from the peculiar motives they possessed for keeping it a secret, not being supposed to have divulged it to any one, and Mrs. Boyd herself having only communicated it in strict confidence to her husband. Yet the reader of the ensuing Private Letters, after witnessing the rapidity with which JUNIUS became informed of Mr. Garrick's intimation to the King, and Swinney's visit to Lord G. Sackville, will have no difficulty in conceiving that JUNIUS, though totally unacquainted with Mr. Boyd or his family, might have easily acquired a knowledge of secrets far more securely locked up than the present. In reality, from Mr. Campbell's own rela-

corrupt administration of Lord Townshend in Ireland 'shall not be lost to the public.' He now calls upon JUNIUS to fulfil that promise."

That is Boyd, the writer of JUNIUS, as Campbell contends, calls upon himself to fulfil a promise that he had not the smallest intention to perform, as may be seen by reference to Private Letter, No. 63. Sindercombe is a signature of considerable peculiarity, and never appeared in the Public Advertiser during any part of the time that the author, as JUNIUS, was a correspondent in that paper, which the reader will see was from April 28, 1767, to May 12, 1772. EDIT.

¹ See Vol. II. p. 123, 124, of this work.

tion of this anecdote, it seems rather a matter of wonder that it should have been a secret to any one, than that it should have been known to JUNIUS at the time of his narrating it; for it appears that at least six persons were privy to the transaction almost from its first existence: the debauchee and the prostitute, the injured bridegroom and his two brothers, and Mrs. Boyd as a part of the bridegroom's family¹.—Yet, from these three slender facts,—Boyd's imitation

¹ In point of fact, the anecdote here referred to, was publicly known and propagated not less than three years earlier than the first edition of the Letters of JUNIUS, in which it is introduced as a note. For it appears in a letter in the Public Advertiser of April 7, 1769, with the signature of *Recess*, written by this same JUNIUS; from which the note in question is but a mere transcript, and given without altering a word. And yet Mr. Almon, in the preface to his own edition of JUNIUS's letters, in which he has taken care to bestow abundant abuse on the Printer of the Public Advertiser and his brother, because they did not chuse to unfold to him all they were acquainted with on this subject, has not scrupled to assert with his usual confidence, that "this note *certainly* was not written till after JUNIUS having finally ceased to write under that signature, collected his letters and published them together, with many additions; which was in the course of 1772." Pref. p. lvi. This, however, is only one specimen of Mr. Almon's general accuracy in the prosecution of his favourite topic: yet it is useless to add more: the death of the writer has put him beyond all power of reply; nor should even this have been noticed, but to shew how absurd were the pretensions of a man, so vain, so precipitate, and so incautious, to the character of an oracle upon this or any other subject; and how insolent it was in him to charge others with ignorance, incapacity and falsehood, who were possessed of better sources of information, and evinced a more punctilious adherence to truth. The letter itself is as follows: and it is copied for a comparison with the note.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

MR. WOODFALL,

7 April, 1769.

THERE is a certain family in this country, on which nature seems to have entailed an hereditary baseness of disposition. As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly improved upon the vices of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successor. In the senate, their abilities have confined them to those humble, sordid services, in which the scavengers of the ministry are usually employed. But in the memoirs of private treachery, they stand first and unrivalled. The following story will serve to illustrate the character of this respectable family, and to convince the world that

of the style of JUNIUS, Almon's suspicion concerning his hand-writing, and the anecdote of Lord Irnham, in conjunction with a few others of a nature merely collateral, and which, when separated from them, prove nothing whatever, these gentlemen undertake to "regard it as a moral certainty that Macauley Boyd did write the Letters of JUNIUS¹."

The late Mr. Woodfall, indeed, made no scruple of denying the assertion peremptorily, admitting at the same time, that he was not absolutely certain who did write them. But this testimony, it seems, though from the printer of the letters themselves, and who, moreover, through the whole period of their publication, was in habits of confidential correspondence with the author, is of no consequence. Let us see by what curious process of logic this testimony is attempted to be invalidated: the reader will meet with it in Mr. Chalmers's pamphlet, who thus observes and reasons:

"A few weeks after the publication of Almon's anecdotes, in 1797, Mr. H. S. Woodfall, meeting the anecdote writer at Longman's shop, complimented him on his entertaining book; 'but said that he was mistaken, in supposing Mr. Boyd

the present possessor has as clear a title to the infamy of his ancestors, as he has to their estate. It deserves to be recorded for the curiosity of the fact, and should be given to the public as a warning to every honest member of society.

The present Lord Irnham, who is now in the decline of life, lately cultivated the acquaintance of a younger brother of a family, with which he had lived in some degree of intimacy and friendship. The young man had long been the dupe of a most unhappy attachment to a common prostitute. His friends and relations foresaw the consequences of this connexion, and did every thing that depended upon them to save him from ruin. But he had a friend in Lord Irnham, whose advice rendered all their endeavours ineffectual. This hoary lecher, not contented with the enjoyment of his friend's mistress, was base enough to take advantage of the passions and folly of a young man, and persuaded him to marry her. He descended even to perform the office of father to the prostitute. He gave her to his friend, who was on the point of leaving the kingdom, and the next night lay with her himself.

Whether the depravity of the human heart can produce any thing more base and detestable than this fact, must be left undetermined, until the son shall arrive at his father's age and experience.

RECENS.

¹ See Chalmers's Supplement, p. 94. Campbell's Life, 173, 277.

to have been the author of JUNIUS's Letters; and then added, with an *emphasis*, that Mr. Boyd was not the author of them.' To these emphatical observations Mr. Almon replied, 'that he had no doubt of Mr. Boyd's being the author of those letters; that as you, Mr. H. S. Woodfall, never knew who was the author, you cannot undertake to say who was *not* the author of those letters.' Mr. Woodfall departed without making any reply. What reply could he make? It is absurd in any man, who does not know the true author of JUNIUS's letters, to say, that Macauley Boyd was *not* the writer of them, in opposition to affirmative proofs. Yet, Mr. H. S. Woodfall afterwards told Mr. L. D. Campbell, that 'Mr. Boyd was *not* the writer of JUNIUS's letters,' without pretending, however, that he knew the true author."

Now every one who knew Mr. H. S. Woodfall, knew him also to be a man of strict, unimpeachable veracity; a man who would not have ventured to have spoken decisively upon this or any other point, if he had not had very sufficient grounds. We are asked what reply he could have made? and are told that his negative assertion was *absurd* against the *affirmative proofs* offered. These *affirmative proofs* have been already sufficiently noticed; our next business then is to state what reply Mr. Woodfall could have made if he had chosen, and perhaps would have made if he had been differently addressed, of the *absurdity* of which the reader shall determine when he has perused it: it shall be founded upon *negative arguments* alone. Woodfall well knew the hand-writings of both JUNIUS and Boyd, and was in possession of many copies of both; and knowing them, he well knew they were different. He well knew that JUNIUS was a man directly implicated in the circle of the court, and immediately privy to its most secret intrigues: and that Boyd was very differently situated, and that whatever information he collected was by circuitous channels alone. JUNIUS he knew to be a man of affluence, considerably superior to his own wants, refusing remunerations to which he was entitled, and offering reimbursements to those who suffered on his account:—Boyd to be labouring under great pecuniary difficulties, and

ready to accept whatever was offered him; or, in the language of Mr. Almon, "a broken gentleman without a guinea in his pocket." JUNIUS he knew to be a man of considerably more than his own age, who from a long and matured experience of the world, was entitled to read him lessons of moral and prudential philosophy; Boyd to be at the same time a very young man¹, who had not even reached his majority, totally without plan, and almost without experience of any kind, who in the prospect of divulging himself to Woodfall, could not possibly have written to him "after a *LONG experience of the world*, I affirm before God I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy²." Boyd he knew to be an imitator and copyist of JUNIUS; JUNIUS to be no imitator or copyist of any man, and least of all of himself. JUNIUS he knew to be a decided mixt-monarchist, who opposed the ministry upon constitutional principles; Boyd to be a wild, random republican, who opposed them upon revolutionary views: JUNIUS to be a writer who could not have adopted the signature of Democrates or Democraticus; Boyd a writer who could, and who, we are told did do so, in perfect uniformity with his political creed. Woodfall, it is true, did not pretend to know JUNIUS personally, but from his hand-writing, his style of composition, age, politics, rank in life, and pecuniary affluence, he was perfectly assured that JUNIUS COULD NOT BE BOYD.

It was possible therefore for Mr. H. S. Woodfall to have made *some reply* if he had chosen; and it was possible also for him to have said, *without absurdity*, and in opposition to the *affirmative proofs* of his biographers, that Macauley Boyd was *not* the writer of JUNIUS's Letters.

A thousand other proofs, equally cogent and insurmountable, might be advanced, if necessary, against the pretensions of Mr. Boyd. Among these let the reader compare the letter of JUNIUS, subscribed Vindex, March 6, 1771, Miscel-

¹ Boyd was born in October 1746, and JUNIUS's first letter, under the signature of Poplicola, appeared in the Public Advertiser April 28, 1767, when Boyd had not, as yet, attained his 21st year.

² Private Letters, No. 44.

laneous Letters, No. xci, in which he publicly ridicules Mr. Laughlin Maclean, upon his defence of the ministry, in regard to the Falkland Islands. Mr. Laughlin Maclean is well known to have been the best and steadiest friend that Boyd ever possessed; and a friend who adhered to him uninterruptedly from 1764 to 1778¹, in which year Maclean commenced a voyage to India upon official business relating to the Nabob of Arcot. It was Maclean who, according to his biographer, furnished Boyd with the greater part of the secret transactions of our own government, and the intelligence he made use of in relation to the oriental concerns of the Nabob Mahomed Ali Khaân; who largely and liberally assisted him with pecuniary aid while at home, and “faithfully promised him he would, upon his return from India, assist in clearing him from all his pecuniary difficulties.” The proofs are unquestionable, that the above letter was written by JUNIUS; and that he wrote it also in contempt and ridicule of Laughlin Maclean, who instead of being, as Mr. Campbell affirms, an opponent of the ministry at this time, was an avowed defendant of them.—Will Mr. Boyd’s biographers and advocates, after this anecdote, so far vilify his memory as to contend that it was written by himself?

Of all the reputed authors of these celebrated addresses, Dunning, Lord Ashburton, offers the largest aggregate of

¹ See Mr. Campbell’s *Life of Boyd*, p. 117, 125, 209, 210. In p. 141, he gives us the following account of Mr. Boyd, in support of his assertion that he was the writer of these letters. “From this time [Nov. 27, 1771,] till the 20th of January following, Mr. Boyd’s whole time was occupied in examining the law books and state trials above mentioned, and in writing with his usual secrecy for the *Public Advertiser*: JUNIUS’s elaborate letter to Lord Mansfield, in which he strove hard to make good his charge against him, is dated the 21st of January, 1772: about three weeks after the publication of this letter, Mr. Boyd went to Ireland; and JUNIUS ceased to write under that signature for the *Public Advertiser*.” The reader will perceive by a reference to *Private Letters*, Nos. 40 and 48, that the letter to Lord Mansfield was finished some considerable time before it made its appearance in the *Public Advertiser*; and by comparing the dates of the *Private Letters*, subsequent to that publication, up to March 5, 1772, of which there are no less than seven, he will be satisfied that it was totally impossible for the writer of the *Letters of JUNIUS* to be in Ireland at the period described by Mr. Campbell.

claim in his favour; and, but for a few facts which seem decisive against him, might fairly be admitted to have been the real JUNIUS. His age and rank in life, his talents and learning, his brilliant wit, and sarcastic habit, his common residence, during the period in question, his political principles, attachments and antipathies conspire in marking him as the man: but unfortunately for such a conclusion, Dunning was solicitor-general at the time these letters first appeared, and for more than a twelve-month afterwards: and JUNIUS himself has openly and solemnly affirmed, "I am *no lawyer by profession*; nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country."¹ Dunning was a man of high unblemished honour, as well as of high independent principles; it cannot therefore be supposed that he would have vilified the King, while one of the King's confidential servants and counsellors: nor would he, as a barrister, have written to Woodfall in the course of a confidential correspondence, "*I am advised that no jury will find*" a bill².

Another person who has had a claim advanced in his favour upon the same subject, is the late celebrated Henry Flood, M. P. of Ireland. This claim has only been urged within the last few weeks. Now, without wandering at large for proofs that Mr. Flood could not have been the writer of the Letters of JUNIUS, it is only sufficient to call the reader's attention to the two following facts:

First, Mr. Flood was in Ireland throughout a great part of the summer of 1768, and at a time when JUNIUS, whoever he may have been, was perpetually corresponding with the printer of the Public Advertiser, and with a rapidity which could not have been maintained, not only in Ireland, but even at a hundred, and occasionally at less than fifty miles distance from the British metropolis. This fact may be collected, among other authorities, from the following passage in Mr. Campbell's Life of Boyd, and is just as adverse to the pretensions of the one as of the other.

¹ Preface, p. 8.

² Private Letters, No. 18

“In the summer of 1768 Boyd went to Ireland for a few months, on some private business. During his stay in Dublin he was constantly in the company of Mr. Flood.”

Next, by turning to the Private Letters of JUNIUS, No. 44, of the date of Nov. 27, 1771, the reader will find the following paragraph: “*I fear* your friend Jerry Dyson *will* lose his Irish pension.—Say “received.” The mark “*received*” occurs accordingly in the Public Advertiser of the day ensuing. Now by turning to the Irish debates of this period, we shall find that the question concerning this pension was actually determined by the Irish parliament just two days before the date of the above mentioned Private Letter, and that Mr. Flood was one of the principal opponents of the grant, a circumstance which precludes the possibility of believing him to have written the letter in question. We shall extract the article from whence this information is derived, from the Public Advertiser of Dec. 18, 1771.

“Authentic copy of the conclusion of the speech which Mr. Flood made in the Irish House of Commons, on Monday the 25th of November last, when the debate on the pension of Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. came on before the committee of supplies:

“— But of all the burthens which it has pleased government to lay upon our devoted shoulders, that which is the subject of the present debate is the most grievous and intolerable.—Who does not know Jeremiah Dyson, Esq.?—We know little of him indeed, otherwise than by his name in our pension list; but there are others who know him by his actions. This is he who is endued with those happy talents, that he has served every administration, and served every one with equal success—a civil, pliable, good-natured gentleman, who will do what you will, and say what you please—for payment.

“Here Mr. Flood was interrupted, and called to order by Mr. M——, who urged that more respect ought to be paid to Mr. Dyson as one of his Majesty’s officers, and, as such, one whom his Majesty was graciously pleased to repose confidence in. However Mr. Flood went on.

“As to the royal confidence reposed in Mr. Dyson, his gracious Majesty (whom God long preserve) has been graciously lavish of it, not only to Mr. Dyson, but to the friends of Mr. Dyson; and I think the choice was good: The royal secrets will, I dare say, be very secure in their breasts, not only for the love they bear to his gracious Majesty, but for the love they bear to themselves. In the present case, however, we do not want to be informed of that part of Mr. Dyson’s character—we know enough of him—every body knows enough of him—ask the British treasury—the British council—ask any Englishman who he is, what he is—they can all tell you, for the gentleman is well known.—But what have we to do with him? He never served Ireland, nor the friends of Ireland. And if this distressed kingdom was never benefited by his counsel, interest, or service, I see no good cause why this kingdom should reward him. Let the honourable members of this house consider this, and give their voices accordingly.—For God’s sake let every man consult his conscience: If Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. shall be found to deserve this pension, let it be continued; if not, let it be lopped off our revenue as burthensome and unnecessary.”

Let us proceed to the pretensions that have been offered on the part of Lord George Sackville as the real JUNIUS. The evidence is somewhat indecisive even to the present hour. Sir William Draper divided his suspicions between this nobleman and Mr. Burke, and upon the personal and unequivocal denial of the latter, he transferred them entirely to the former: and that Sir William was not the only person who suspected his Lordship even from the first, is evident from the Private Letter of JUNIUS, which asserts that Swinney had actually called upon Lord Sackville and taxed him with being JUNIUS, to his face¹. This letter is, in fact, one of the most curious of the whole collection: if written by Lord George Sackville, it settles the point at once; and, if not written by him, presupposes an acquaintance with his Lordship’s family, his sentiments and his connexions so in-

¹ Private Letters, No. 5.

timate as to excite no small degree of astonishment. JUNIUS was informed of Swinney's having called upon Lord George Sackville, a few hours after his call, and he knew that *before this time* he had never spoken to him in his life. It is certain then, that Lord George Sackville was early and generally suspected, that JUNIUS knew him to be suspected without denying, as in the case of the author of "The Whig¹, &c." that he was suspected wrongfully; and that this nobleman, if not JUNIUS himself, must have been in habits of close and intimate friendship with him. The talents of Lord George Sackville were well known and admitted, and his political principles led him to the same side of the question that was so warmly espoused by JUNIUS. It is said, however, that on one occasion his Lordship privately observed to a friend of his, "I should be proud to be capable of writing as JUNIUS has done; but there are many passages in his letters I should be very sorry to have written²." Such a declaration, however, is too general to be in any way conclusive: even JUNIUS himself might, in a subsequent period, have regretted that he had written some of the passages that occur in his letters. In the case of his letter to Junia, we know he did from his own avowal. It is nevertheless peculiarly hostile to the opinion in favour of Lord George Sackville, that JUNIUS should roundly have accused him of want of courage, as he has done in Vol. II. p. 180. The facts, however, are fairly before the reader, and he shall be left to the exercise of his own judgment.

¹ Private Letters, No. 23.

² See Chalmers's Appendix to the Supplemental Apology, p. 7.

PRIVATE LETTERS

OF

JUNIUS

ADDRESSED TO

MR. H. S. WOODFALL.



PRIVATE LETTERS

OF

JUNIUS.

No. 1.

MR. WOODFALL.

SIR,

April 20, 1769.

I AM preparing a paper, which you shall have on or before Saturday night. Advertise it for Monday¹. JUNIUS on Monday.

C.

If any enquiry is made about these papers, I shall rely on your giving me a hint.

No. 2.

SIR,

Friday, May 5th, 1769².

It is essentially necessary that the inclosed should be published to-morrow, as the great question comes on on Monday, and Lord Granby is already staggered³.

If you should receive an answer to it, you will oblige me much by not publishing it, till after Monday.

C.

¹ JUNIUS, Letter XI.

² This note was addressed to Mr. Woodfall, with a desire that it should "be opened by himself only."

³ The letter is printed in the Miscellaneous Collection, No. LV. and the great question alluded to was upon the Middlesex petition against the seating of Col. Luttrell for that county. The debate took place on Monday the 8th of May in the House of Commons, and continued from half past one o'clock in the afternoon, till half past four the next morning, when,
upon

upon a division, there appeared for the petition 152, against it 221. The speakers on this occasion, in favour of the petition, were Mr. Dowdeswell, Lord J. Cavendish, Mr. Wedderburne, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. Burke, Mr. Seymour, and Sir George Saville: those against it, Mr. Stanley, Sir G. Osborne, Dr. Blackstone, Mr. W. Ellis, Mr. Thurlow, Mr. C. J. Fox, Mr. Moreton, and Sir F. Norton.

In consequence of the rejection of the petition to the House of Commons, the following was soon afterwards presented to the King; which we insert, as we shall also, in their due places, those of London and Westminster, upon similar subjects, with a view of getting some idea of the general politics of the day, and the warmth of the respective controversies that distinguished it.

“ TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“ The humble petition of the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ We, your Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, the Freeholders of the County of Middlesex, beg leave with all affectionate submission and humility, to throw ourselves at your royal feet, and humbly to implore your paternal attention to those grievances of which this country and the whole nation complain, and those fearful apprehensions with which the whole British empire is most justly alarmed.

“ With great grief and sorrow, we have long beheld the endeavours of certain evil-minded persons, who attempt to infuse into your royal mind, notions and opinions of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency, and who promote and counsel such measures as cannot fail to destroy that harmony and confidence which should ever subsist between a just and virtuous Prince, and a free and loyal people.

“ For this disaffected purpose they have introduced into every part of the administration of our happy, legal constitution, a certain unlimited and indefinite discretionary power; to prevent which is the sole aim of all our laws, and was the sole cause of all those disturbances and revolutions which formerly distracted this unhappy country; for our ancestors, by their own fatal experience, well knew that in a state where discretion begins, law, liberty and safety end. Under the pretence of this discretion, or, as it was formerly, and has been lately called—Law of state—we have seen

“ English subjects, and even a member of the British Legislature, arrested by virtue of a general warrant issued by a secretary of state, contrary to the law of the land.—

“ Their houses rifled and plundered, their papers seized, and used as evidence upon trial.—

“ Their bodies committed to close imprisonment.—

“ The Habeas Corpus eluded.—

“ Trial by jury discountenanced, and the first law officer of the crown publicly insinuating that juries are not to be trusted.—

“ Printers punished by the ministry in the supreme court without a trial by their equals, without any trial at all.—

“ The remedy of the law for false imprisonment debarred and defeated.—

“ The

"The Plaintiff and his Attorney, for their appeal to the law of the land, punished by expenses and imprisonment, and made, by forced engagements, to desist from their legal claim.—

"A writing determined to be a libel by a court where it was not cognizable in the first instance; contrary to law, because all appeal is thereby cut off, and inferior courts and juries influenced by such predetermination.—

"A person condemned in the said courts as the author of the supposed libel unheard, without defence or trial.—

"Unjust treatment of Petitions, by selecting only such parts as might be wrested to criminate the petitioner, and refusing to hear those which might procure him redress.—

"The thanks of one branch of the Legislature proposed by a minister to be given to an acknowledged offender for his offence, with the declared intention of screening him from the law.—

"Attachments wrested from their original intent of removing obstructions to the proceedings of law, to punish, by sentence of arbitrary fine and imprisonment, without trial or appeal, supposed offences committed out of court.—

"Perpetual imprisonment of an Englishman without trial, conviction, or sentence, by the same mode of attachment, wherein the same person is at once party, accuser, judge, and jury.—

"Instead of the ancient and legal civil police, the military introduced at every opportunity, unnecessarily and unlawfully patrolling the streets to the alarm and terror of the inhabitants —

"The lives of many of your Majesty's innocent subjects destroyed by military execution.—

"Such military execution solemnly adjudged to be legal.—

"Murder abetted, encouraged, and rewarded.—

"The civil magistracy rendered contemptible by the appointment of improper and incapable persons.—

"The civil magistrates tampered with by administration, and neglecting and refusing to discharge their duty.—

"Mobs and riots hired and raised by the ministry, in order to justify and recommend their own illegal proceedings, and to prejudice your Majesty's mind by false insinuations against the loyalty of your Majesty's subjects.—

"The freedom of election violated by corrupt and undue influence, by unpunished violence and murder.—

"The just verdicts of juries, and the opinion of the judges over-ruled by false representations to your Majesty; and the determinations of the law set aside, by new, unprecedented, and dangerous means; thereby leaving the guilty without restraint, and the injured without redress, and the lives of your Majesty's subjects at the mercy of every ruffian protected by administration.—

"Obsolete and vexatious claims of the crown set on foot for partial and election purposes.—

"Partial

"Partial attacks on the liberty of the press: the most daring and pernicious libels against the constitution and against the liberty of the subject, being allowed to pass unnoticed, whilst the slightest libel against a minister is punished with the utmost rigour.—

"Wicked attempts to increase and establish a standing army, by endeavouring to vest in the crown an unlimited power over the militia, which, should they succeed, must, sooner or later, subvert the constitution, by augmenting the power of administration in proportion to their delinquency.—

"Repeated endeavours to diminish the importance of members of parliament individually, in order to render them more dependent on administration collectively. Even threats having been employed by ministers to suppress the freedom of debate; and the wrath of parliament denounced against measures authorized by the law of the land.—

"Resolutions of one branch of the legislature, set up as the law of the land, being a direct usurpation of the rights of the two other branches, and therefore a manifest infringement of the constitution.—

"Public money shamefully squandered and unaccounted for, and all enquiry into the cause of arrears into the civil list prevented by the ministry.—

"Enquiry into a pay-master's public accounts stopped in the Exchequer, though the sums unaccounted for by that pay-master amount to above forty millions sterling.—

"Public loans perverted to private ministerial purposes.—

"Prostitution of public honours and rewards to men who can neither plead public virtue nor services.—

"Irreligion and immorality so eminently discountenanced by your Majesty's royal example, encouraged by administration, both by example and precept.—

"The same discretion has been extended by the same evil counsellors to your Majesty's dominions in America, and has produced to our suffering fellow-subjects in that part of the world, grievances and apprehensions similar to those which we complain of at home.—

"*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"Such are the grievances and apprehensions which have long discontented and disturbed the greatest and best part of your Majesty's loyal subjects. Unwilling however to interrupt your royal repose, though ready to lay down our lives and fortunes for your Majesty's service, and for the constitution as by law established, we have waited patiently expecting a constitutional remedy by the means of our own representatives, but our legal and free choice having been repeatedly rejected, and the right of election now finally taken from us by the unprecedented seating of a candidate who was never chosen by the county, and who, even to become a candidate, was obliged fraudulently to vacate his seat in parliament, under the pretence of an insignificant place, invited thereto by the prior declaration of a minister, that whoever opposed our choice, though but with four votes, should be declared member for the county, we see ourselves

selves by this last act, deprived even of the franchises of Englishmen, reduced to the most abject state of slavery, and left without hopes or means of redress but from your Majesty or God.

“Deign then, most gracious Sovereign, to listen to the prayer of the most faithful of your Majesty’s subjects; and to banish from your royal favour, trust, and confidence, for ever, those evil and pernicious counselors, who have endeavoured to alienate the affection of your Majesty’s most sincere and dutiful subjects, and whose suggestions tend to deprive your people of their dearest and most essential rights, and who have traitorously dared to depart from the spirit and letter of those laws which have secured the Crown of these realms to the House of Brunswick, in which we make our most earnest prayers to God that it may continue untarnished to the latest posterity.”

Signed by 1565 Freeholders.

No. 3.

SIR,

Saturday, July 15th, 1769.

I HAVE received the favour of your note. From the contents of it, I imagine you may have something to communicate to me; if that be the case, I beg you will be particular; and also that you will tell me candidly whether you know or suspect who I am. Direct a letter to Mr. William Middleton¹ to be left at the bar of the New Exchange Coffee-house on Monday as early as you think proper.

I am, Sir, your most obedient, and
most humble servant,

C.

No. 4.

(Private)

SIR,

July 17th, 1769.

MR. Newberry having thought proper to reprint my Letters², I wish at least he had done it correctly. You will

¹ “Mr. William Middleton’s Letter is sent as desired.” Answer to Correspondents in the P. A. of July 20th, 1769.

² Newberry had thought proper at this time to publish a spurious and surreptitious edition of the first fifteen Letters, as printed in the author’s edition, under the title of “The Political Contest;” and it was these unauthorized publications that gave the first idea of publishing a genuine edition of the whole.

oblige me much by giving him the following hint¹ to-morrow. The inclosed² when you think proper.

“ Mr. Newberry having thought proper to reprint JUNIUS’ Letters, might at least have corrected the errata, as we did constantly.

Page 1, Line 13, for <i>national</i>	read <i>rational</i> .
— 3, — 4, — <i>was</i>	— <i>were</i> .
— 5, — 15, — <i>indisputable</i>	— <i>indispensable</i> .
Letter 7, — 4, — <i>in all mazes</i>	— <i>in all the mazes</i> .
— 15, — 24, — <i>rightest</i>	— <i>brightest</i> .
— 48, — 2, — <i>indiscreet</i>	— <i>indirect</i> .”

I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper, but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive.

Speciosa quæro pascere tigres.

No. 5.

SIR,

July 21st, 1769, Friday Night.

I can have no manner of objection to your reprinting the Letters, if you think it will answer, which I believe it might, before Newberry appeared. If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more errata (indeed they are innumerable) and perhaps a Preface. I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature.³ I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration.

That Swinney⁴ is a wretched but a dangerous fool. He had the impudence to go to Lord G. Sackville, whom he

¹ This request does not appear to have been complied with; as the following answer to correspondents was inserted in the Public Advertiser of the 18th of July:—“ Reasons why the hint was not printed are sent to the last mentioned Coffee-house in the Strand, from whence our *old* correspondent will be pleased to send for them.”

² JUNIUS, Letter xvi.

³ See Dedication, . 1.

⁴ A Correspondent of the Printer’s.

Nº 3.

Saturday

for. I have rec^d the favor of yr note from the Contents of it. I imagine you may have something to communicate to me. If that be the case, I beg you will be particular, & also that you will tell me candidly whether you know or suspect who I am. Direct a Letter to Mr. William Middleton to be left at the bar of the new exchange coffee house on Monday. as early as you think proper.

I am, for, your most obedient
& most humble servant

C

Nº 8

for. The last letter you printed was idle & improper, & I assure you printed against my own opinion. The Truth is, there are people about me, whom I ~~do~~ ^{ever so improperly} wish not to contradict, & who had rather see Junius in the papers, than not at all. I wish it co^d be recalled. Suppose you were to say - We have some reason to suspect that the last letter signed Junius in this paper was not ^{written} by the real Junius. tho' the observation escaped us at the time, or if you can hit off any thing yourself more plausible, you will much oblige me, but without a positive assertion. Don't let it be the same day with the inclosed. - beggins your pardon for this trouble, I remain your friend & humble servant

for.

Nº 27.

i have rec^d yr mysterious epistle. i dare say a letter may safely be left at the same place; but you may change the direction to Mr. John Forster. You need not advertise it

you are C

Nº 2.

friday

for. it is essentially necessary that the inclosed should be published to morrow, as the great Question comes on on Monday. & Lord Granby is already staggered. if you sh^d receive any answer to it, you will oblige me much by not publishing it, till after Monday

C

Mr Boyd's

Mr Woodfall will oblige his old corresponders
by keeping the first place in tomorrow's
Public Ad. (about half a column or a little
more) for a Paper on an immediate
Subject. — He will send it in two or three
hours at farthest. — & another some time
before Tinner tomorrow, — which Mr W. will
please to insert in the same manner on
Wednesday. Norfolk Th May 4th

Mr Wilke's

That the Warders appointed to keep a close prisoner
shall not presume to leave him for a moment alone
either night or day, or to change their duty with other
Warders but by particular leave or order from the Con-
stable, Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenant, or in their absence
the Mayor of the Tower

They are to permit no person to have admittance into
the Room he is confined in, or to speak to him but by
a particular order brought them by the Mayor or
Gentleman Gaffer.

the Marshal

Mr Horne Tooke's

I am well pleased and perfectly
satisfied. If you will sign a fair copy of the inclosed
and cannot get Mr C. to present it for you send it to
me, and I will get it presented
Whatever happens, do you persevere and persist,
and wonder at nothing All stands well
W

Mr Burke's

~~Government~~ The Wisdom of Government
is of more importance than the Law —
I should study the temper of the people before
I ventured on prosecutions — I would consider
the whole of the prosecution of a Libel of
such importance as ^{as one piece} Junius, as one consistent
plan of operations —

Junius's

Mr Printer Woodfall

W

Paternosterrow

Mr Farrer

My servant informs
me of a Paper left at my House
which he carried to you, & about
which you said it would be neces-
sary to write to me — Be so good
as to let me know what it is,
& if you want to see me, call
on me as soon as you can, as
I go out of Town to-day

Yrs &c

Friday

W. Hamilton

had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of JUNIUS—take care of him.

Whenever you have any thing to communicate to me, let the hint be thus *C at the usual place*, and so direct to Mr. John Fretley, at the same Coffee-house, where it is absolutely impossible I should be known.

I did *not* mean the Latin to be printed.

I wish Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour¹. If his cause be good, he should at once have published that account, to which he refers in his letter to the Mayor².

Pray tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with you about prosecuting³. *Yes* or *No* will be sufficient. Your Lycurgus⁴ is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts upon town. And so I wish you a good night.

Yours,

C.

¹ The Editor has already observed, in the Preliminary Essay, that JUNIUS appears to have uniformly entertained a good opinion of, or at least a partiality for, Lord Holland. The remark is not new; it was noticed long ago by several of his opponents. Thus, in a letter subscribed by our author, Anti-Fox, and inserted in the Public Advertiser of October 16th, 1771, he thus speaks of him: "I know nothing of JUNIUS; but I see plainly that he has designedly spared Lord Holland and his family."

² See note A at the end of the Letter.

³ See note B at the end of the Letter.

⁴ Lycurgus was a frequent writer in the Public Advertiser during the spring and summer of 1769; and opposed the ministry, but with less violence than most of his contemporaries.

A.

He seems to refer to a charge of embezzlement of the public treasure, made in the City Petition presented to his Majesty, July 5th, 1769, of which the following is a copy:—

The humble Petition of the Livery of the City of London in Common Hall assembled.

"*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Livery of the City of London, with all the humility which is due from free subjects to their lawful Sovereign, but with all the anxiety which the sense of the present oppressions, and the just dread of future mischiefs produce in our minds, beg leave to lay before your Majesty some of those intolerable

intolerable grievances which your people have suffered from the evil conduct of those who have been intrusted with the administration of your Majesty's government, and from the secret unremitting influence of the worst of counsellors.

"We should be wanting in our duty to your Majesty, as well as to ourselves and our posterity, should we forbear to represent to the throne the desperate attempts which have been, and are too successfully made, to destroy that constitution, to the spirit of which we owe the relation which subsists between your Majesty and the subjects of these realms, and to subvert those sacred laws which our ancestors have sealed with their blood.

"Your ministers, from corrupt principles, and in violation of every duty, have, by various enumerated means, invaded our invaluable and unalienable right of trial by jury.

"They have, with impunity, issued general warrants, and violently seized persons and private papers.

"They have rendered the laws non-effective to our security, by evading the Habeas Corpus.

"They have caused punishments, and even perpetual imprisonment, to be inflicted without trial, conviction, or sentence.

"They have brought into disrepute the civil magistracy, by the appointment of persons who are, in many respects, unqualified for that important trust, and have thereby purposely furnished a pretence for calling in the aid of a military power.

"They avow, and endeavour to establish a maxim, absolutely inconsistent with our constitution, that 'an occasion for *effectually* employing a military force always presents itself when the civil power is *trifled with or insulted*;' and by a fatal and false application of this maxim, they have wantonly and wickedly sacrificed the lives of many of your Majesty's innocent subjects, and have prostituted your Majesty's sacred name and authority, to justify, applaud, and recommend their own illegal and bloody actions.

"They have screened more than one murderer from punishment, and in its place have unnaturally substituted reward.

"They have established numberless unconstitutional regulations and taxations in our colonies. They have caused a revenue to be raised in some of them by prerogative. They have appointed civil law judges to try revenue causes, and to be paid from out of the condemnation money.

"After having insulted and defeated the law on different occasions, and by different contrivances, both at home and abroad, they have at length completed their design, by violently wresting from the people the last sacred right we had left, the right of election: by the unprecedented seating of a candidate notoriously set up and chosen only by themselves. They have thereby taken from your subjects all hopes of parliamentary redress, and have left us no resource, under God, but in your Majesty.

"All this they have been able to effect by corruption; by a scandalous misapplication and embezzlement of the public treasure, and a shameful prostitution

prostitution of public honours and employments; procuring deficiencies in the civil list to be made good without examination; and, instead of punishing, conferring honours on a pay-master, the public defaulter of unaccounted millions.

"From an unfeigned sense of the duty we owe to your Majesty, and to our country, we have ventured thus humbly to lay before the throne these great and important truths, which it has been the business of your ministers to conceal. We most earnestly beseech your Majesty to grant us redress. It is for the purpose of redress alone, and for such occasions as the present, that those great and extensive powers are intrusted to the crown, by the wisdom of that constitution, which your Majesty's illustrious family was chosen to defend, and which we trust in God, it will for ever continue to support."

Lord Holland suspecting himself to be implicated in the last paragraph but one of the above petition, addressed the following letter to the Lord Mayor upon this subject:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR.

"My Lord,

"In a petition presented by your Lordship it is mentioned as a grievance, *Instead of punishing, conferring honours on a pay-master, the public defaulter of unaccounted millions.* I am told that I am the pay-master here censured: may I beg to know of your Lordship if it is so? If it is, I am sure Mr. Beckford must have been against it, because he knows, and could have shewn your Lordship in writing, the utter falsehood of what is there insinuated.

"I have not the honour to know your Lordship, so I cannot tell what you may have heard to induce you to carry to our Sovereign a complaint of so atrocious a nature.

"Your Lordship, by your speech made to the King at delivering the petition, has adopted the contents of it; and I do not know of whom to enquire but of your Lordship concerning this injury done to an innocent man, who am by this means (if I am the person meant) hung out as an object of public hatred and resentment.

"You have too much honour and justice not to tell me whether I am the person meant, and if I am, the grounds upon which I am thus charged, that I may vindicate myself, which truth will enable me to do to the conviction of the bitterest enemy; and therefore I may boldly say, to your Lordship's entire satisfaction, whom I certainly have never offended,

"I am, with the greatest respect,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient

"And most humble servant,

"Holland House, Kensington,
July 9th, 1769."

"HOLLAND."

To this letter the Lord Mayor returned the following answer:—

"The Lord Mayor presents his compliments to Lord Holland, and in
answer

answer to the honour of his Lordship's letter delivered to him by Mr. Selwyn, he begs leave to say that he had no concern in drawing up the petition from the Livery of London to his Majesty; that he looks on himself only as the carrier, together with other gentlemen charged by the Livery with the delivery of it; that he does not, nor ever did, hold himself accountable for the contents of it, and is a stranger to the nature of the supposed charge against his Lordship.

"Mansion House, July 10, 1769."

Mr. Beckford, seeing his name implicated in this correspondence, wrote from the country the following letter to a friend, who was a Liveryman of the city:—

"Dear Sir,

Fonthill, July 15, 1769.

"I am as much surprised as you seem to be, at seeing my name, and papers in my possession, appealed to by a noble Lord.—You and my friends in the city think it incumbent on me to vindicate (as they are pleased to express themselves) my honour and character, which is called in question. The only proper satisfaction in my power to give you and my other friends, is to relate plain matters of fact, to the best of my recollection.

"In the last session of Parliament, on a question of revenue (as far as my memory serves) I did declare to the House that the public revenue had been squandered away, and that the money of the nation had not been regularly audited and accounted for.

"That in the department of the pay-office I had been informed there were upwards of forty millions not properly accounted for; that the officers of the King's Exchequer were bound in duty to see justice done to the public; that process had issued out of the Court of Exchequer, and that all proceedings for a certain time had been suspended by the King's sign manual. I then did declare, that it was an high offence for any minister to advise the King to stop the course of public justice, without assigning a very good reason for such his advice.—I desired the chancellor of the exchequer, and the lords of the treasury, who sat opposite to me, to set me right if my information was not well-founded; but not a single word was uttered in answer by any of the gentlemen in administration.

"After some days had elapsed, I met my friend Mr. Woodhouse in Westminster Hall, he told me I had been misinformed as to what I had mentioned in the House of Commons, and that if I would give him leave, he would send me a paper from a noble Lord, which would convince me of my mistake. The paper alluded to is in London, I therefore cannot speak of the contents with accuracy and precision; but this I recollect, that the perusal of the paper did *not* convince me that all I had heard was false. It was a private paper, and I do not recollect having shewn it to more than a single person. I have no doubt Mr. Woodhouse has a copy of the paper by him, and I hope he will submit the contents to the judgment of the public, in vindication of an INNOCENT man.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your ever faithful and affectionate humble servant,

"WILLIAM BECKFORD."

It was in consequence of this letter that Lord Holland was induced to publish the account above referred to by JUNIUS, and again by Mr. Beckford. Long as it is, it ought not to be omitted in this place.

FOR THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

Letter to H. S. Woodfall.

“MR. WOODFALL,

Kingsgate, July 20, 1769.

“Lord Holland seeing in your paper a letter from Mr. Beckford to a Liveryman, of July 15, 1769, and Mr. Woodhouse being at Spa, in Germany, sends you an authentic copy of the paper which he sent by Mr. Woodhouse to Mr. Beckford. He hopes the perusal of it will convince the reader that all is false that can impute any crime to Lord Holland.

“The reader will see that some of Lord Holland’s accounts were then before the auditor; and there are two years’ accounts since lodged there.

“He will see that Lord Holland’s accounts (voluminous and difficult beyond example) have not been kept back from inclination, but necessity; and not longer than those of his predecessors.

“He will see (and is desired to observe particularly) that savings, so far from remaining all in Lord Holland’s hands, had been given in and voted in aid of the public service, to the amount of 910,541*l.* And 43,533*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* (upon some regimental and other accounts being adjusted this last winter) have been since paid and voted.

“He will read in it, that Lord Holland desired to be shewn how he could proceed faster than he did. If nobody has shewn or can show how that might have been, or may be done, does he deserve either punishment or censure? And had he not a right to think himself sure that Mr. Beckford must have been against the article in the petition relating to him, because *Mr. Beckford knew, and could have shewn the Lord Mayor in writing, the utter falsehood of what is there insinuated.*

“Lord Holland prints the memorial examined by the Treasury, and the sign manual it obtained; stopping process (not accounts) for six months, which neither did nor could suspend or delay the pay-master’s accounts an hour.

HOLLAND.”

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ACCOUNTS OF THE PAY-MASTER GENERAL.

Why were Lord Holland’s accounts, as pay-master general, for the years 1757, 1758, and 1759, not delivered to the auditors before the year 1768?

ANSWER.

The pay-master general’s officers being best acquainted with army accounts, are employed in making up the account of the preceding pay-masters. The accounts of the earls of Chatham, Darlington, and Kinnoul, and Mr. Potter, were made up by them, and regularly, and in due course delivered to the auditors.

Great as the army and its expenses were during the last war, beyond all former example, dispersed in all quarters of the world, and difficult as it must have been to keep the accounts in any tolerable order, it will be found

found, upon examination, that the accounts of Lord Holland, as pay-master general, are not further back than those of his predecessors, and that his Lordship's accounts are not kept back, as has been suggested, from inclination, but necessity.

The late Mr. Winnington's accounts, for two years and a half, from December, 1743, to 24th of June, 1746, were declared the 15th of May, 1760. The earl of Chatham's accounts for nine years and a half, from the 25th June, 1746, to the 24th of December, 1755, are not yet declared.

The earls of Darlington and Kinnoul for the year 1756, and the earl of Kinnoul's and Mr. Potter's for six months, to the 24th of June, 1757, are now before the auditors.

The accounts of Lord Holland for the years 1757, 1758, and 1759; likewise the accounts of his deputies, attending the army in Germany, from the commencement to the end of the late war, are also before the auditors for their examination, and his Lordship's account for the year 1760, is almost ready to be delivered to them.

From the nature and extension of army accounts, it is most evident to those that are best acquainted with them, that it is tedious and difficult to bring even regimental accounts to a final adjustment; other parts of the accounts are more so. Lord Holland, in the course of the years 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, and 1764, has paid to regiments and independent companies 320,391*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* whose accounts are at this time unadjusted, for want of proper authorities, and till those authorities are obtained, the auditor will not allow one shilling of said sum in his Lordship's accounts. To obtain those authorities, his Lordship has often repeated his solicitations.

What is the balance of cash in Lord Holland's hands?

ANSWER.

The meaning of this question can be no other than, what savings are in Lord Holland's hands? Or, in other words, how much has the expense in any case fallen short of the sum voted?

As to the savings:—so far as the pay-office has been enabled to state the army accounts, they have been given into parliament.

From services that have fallen short of the sums voted, and from monies paid in by army accomptants, Lord Holland directed accounts to be made up and laid before the House of Commons; and accordingly (out of these savings in Lord Holland's hands) parliament from time to time availed itself of the following sums, viz.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Voted in aid of extraordinaries, to December 24, 1763,	239,966	1	4
Voted in the year 1764, in aid of German claims,	170,906	2	8
Voted in the year 1765, in aid of ditto service,	251,740	2	7
Voted in the year 1766, in aid of extraordinary services,	60,638	2	10
Voted in the year 1767, in aid of extraordinaries and other services, - - - - - }	171,571	13	3
Voted in the year 1768, in aid of the supply, - - - - -	15,719	15	7
	<u>910,541</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>3</u>

His Lordship could by no other means ascertain and give into parliament the savings on the votes for the army, but by the final adjustment of army accounts; what further savings may be, is very uncertain, as they cannot be known before the services are absolutely determined and closed.

His Lordship is very sorry to say it, that in the years 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, and 1764, there are not less than fifty-six regiments and companies now standing open and unadjusted, for want of authorities; and in his ledgers there are accounts to a much greater extent, as the pay of staff officers, &c. &c.

It may be seen here that though Mr. Winnington died in April, 1746, and his executor, Mr. Ingram, used all possible industry to close his accounts, they could not be closed till 1760; fourteen years. The Earl of Chatham went out in December, 1755, yet are not his accounts closed till 1768; thirteen years. The Earl of Kinnoul's are not closed yet, though he has been out of the office eleven years. Lord Holland has been out three years and a half. Where is the wonder his are not closed?

If those who complain will shew Lord Holland how he can proceed faster than he does, he will be very much obliged to them. Let it be observed, that he has before the auditors already, accounts for more years than Mr. Winnington or Lord Kinnoul had to account for.

MEMORIAL FOR LORD HOLLAND TO HAVE LONGER TIME TO MAKE UP
HIS ACCOUNTS AS PAY-MASTER GENERAL.

May it please your Lordships,

I beg to inform your Lordships that a process is in the hands of the sheriffs of Middlesex against me to account to his Majesty for the monies imprested to me, as pay-master general of his Majesty's forces.

I most humbly apprehend that the regular ordinary course of accounting in the Exchequer was calculated (when established) for transactions at home, which are easily and readily to be collected and made up at short periods of time.

The accounts of the army when employed abroad, particularly, must unavoidably be much in arrear from the nature of the service.

The army payments are necessarily in arrear; and articles from accidents inevitable are obliged to remain often open a long time before they can finally be closed.

The accounts of the last war are voluminous and difficult beyond example. The great variety of operations, and the very great distance of the troops, made, and must make, the correspondence, and adjusting those accounts with the pay-masters and accountants attending them, very slow and tedious. These therefore will require longer time to make up, both from their bulk and difficulty.

During the course of a war, the troops constantly changing and moving, and the service in the utmost hurry, it cannot then be done with the order and regularity absolutely necessary. Since the war the utmost diligence has been used in them. The great intricate article of Foreign ex-
pense,

pense, (viz. the German) has been got together for the whole time (which, after the former war, was several years about;) and one year and an half's general account is now made out, and ready to be laid before the auditors; the rest will regularly be laid before them as fast as it is possible to make them up. Though I have been two years out of employment, the payments for my time are not yet completed.

I therefore pray your Lordships will be pleased to obtain his Majesty's warrant, granting me longer time for making up my accounts as pay-master general of his Majesty's forces.

*Pay Office, Horse Guards,
25th June, 1767.*

Which is, &c. &c.

HOLLAND.

KING'S WARRANT, STAY OF PROCESS AGAINST LORD HOLLAND FOR
SIX MONTHS.

Copy.

George R.

Whereas our right trusty, and well-beloved Henry Lord Holland hath, by the annexed memorial, represented, that from several unavoidable causes and difficulties he hath been prevented making up his accompts, as late pay-master general of our forces; and we having taken the said matter into our royal consideration, are graciously pleased to grant unto him a farther time for making up his said accompts. Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby direct, authorize, and require you to cause all process against the said Henry Lord Holland for his accompts, as late pay-master general of our forces, to be stayed for and during the term of six months, computed from the day of the date hereof. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our court at Saint James's, the eighth day of July, 1767, in the seventh year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

GRAFTON.

C. TOWNSHEND.

T. TOWNSHEND.

To our right trusty, and well-beloved Samuel Lord Marsham, our Remembrancer in our Court of Exchequer.

B.

The history of this dispute is as follows. In the Public Advertiser of July 14, 1769, the following letter made its appearance, addressed

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE ONSLOW, ESQ.

SIR,

I have heard from very good authority that one of the Lords of the Treasury has lately gained a thousand pounds in a very common and usual manner, which is yet likely to be attended with a very uncommon and unusual consequence. Mr. ——— applied to the Right Honourable Mr. ——— for

—— for his interest for a certain lucrative post in America. The gentleman was informed that a thousand pounds placed in the hands of Mrs. —— would insure him the place. Mr. —— not having the money, prevailed on Colonel —— to join with him in a bond for that sum to the lady to whom he was directed. So far, Sir, all is in the common track: What follows is the wonderful part of the transaction. This Lord of the Treasury kept his word, and the gentleman was appointed to the office he had paid for! And stranger still, Lord ——, who discovered this bargain and sale, is offended at it, and insists on the dismission of this Lord of the Treasury. Now, Sir, I must intreat you to favour one of your constituents with the name of this Lord of the Treasury, for you, no doubt, who sit at that Board yourself, must be acquainted with him.

Ash-Court, July 11.

ANOTHER FREEHOLDER OF SURREY.

To this letter Mr. Onslow made the following reply, which was published in the same newspaper, July 18, ensuing.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

July 16.

Having just now read a letter containing, by evident insinuation, a most audacious attack upon my character, printed by you, in your paper of Friday last, asserting a gross and infamous lie from beginning to end; I do hereby publicly call upon you to name the person from whom you received the account you have presumed to publish. If you are either unable or unwilling to do this, I shall most certainly treat you as the author, and in justice both to myself and others who are every day thus malignantly and wickedly vilified, shall take the best advice in the law if an action will not lie for such atrocious defamation, and if I may not hope to make an example of the author of it.

The scurrility in general which has been of late so heaped upon me in the public papers, I have hitherto treated with the contempt my friends and myself thought it deserved, and suffered it to pass with impunity; but this last is so outrageous, and tends so much to wound my character and honour in the tenderest part, that I am determined, if practicable, to see if a jury will not do me and the public justice against such a libeller, and whether they will not think the robbing an innocent man of his character is a robbery of the most dangerous kind, and that the perpetrators of it will stick at nothing.

For the present I must content myself with only laying before the public the two following letters, which will explain to them all the knowledge I had of the detestable fraud, which has been taken advantage of to charge me with corruption; a crime, which of all others, I hold the most in abhorrence. I defy the whole world to prove a single word in your libellous letter to be true, or that the whole is not a barefaced, positive, and entire lie. That it is so I do assert, and I call upon any body, if they can, to disprove what I say.

GEORGE ONSLOW.

Copy of a Letter to Mr. Onslow, received the 27th of June.

SIR,

New Bond Street, June 25, 1769.

I beg you will pardon my thus addressing you, a liberty I could not think of, was any thing less than my family's bread at stake. Some weeks past my husband paid a large sum of money (which gave us inexpressible sorrow to raise) to a party, who protest they are empowered by you to insure him in return, the Collectorship of Piscataway in New Hampshire. I have been told this day one Hughes is in possession of the same, and the Treasury books confirm the news. I beg leave most earnestly to intreat you will inform me whether Mr. Hughes is under any engagement to resign, or whether we are duped by those who have taken our money.

Mr. Burns has had the strongest recommendations from persons of undoubted veracity, and I believe, on all accounts, will be found to be perfectly capable and worthy of the employment.

Once more I intreat, good Sir, you will excuse this trouble, which is caused by a heart almost broken with the fear and terror of a disappointment. With the profoundest respect,

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

MARY BURNS.

Mr. Onslow's Answer.

MADAM,

Ember Court, June 27, 1769.

Your Letter was brought down to me hither only to-day, or I should have answered it sooner. Without having the honour of being known to you or Mr. Burns, it gives me much concern that any body should be so imposed upon as you have been, and as much indignation that my name should be made so infamous a use of. I should have been under an equal degree of surprise, had I not this morning had some intimation of the matter from Mr. Pownal and Mr. Bradshaw, and made some inquiry into it of Mr. Watkins at Charing Cross, with a determination to sift this shocking scene of villany to the bottom, and which I shall now be encouraged in by the hopes of getting you your money restored to you, as well as the earnest desire I have to bring the perpetrators of this roguery to the punishment and shame they deserve.

For this purpose, might I beg the favour of Mr. Burns to meet me at my house in Curzon Street, about ten o'clock on Friday morning.—I will go with him to Mr. Pownal's, of which I have given him notice; and I wish Mr. Burns would bring with him Mr. Watkins, or any body else that can give light into this unhappy and wicked affair.

Till this morning I never in my life heard a single word of either the office itself, nor of any of the parties concerned. You will judge then of my astonishment, and indeed horror, at hearing of it to-day from Mr Bradshaw.

I am, Madam, &c.

GEORGE ONSLOW.

Since writing of the above letters, more of this fraud has been detected, and further enquiry is making, in order to bring the actors in it to justice. A woman of the name of Smith, who lives near Broad street, is the person who appears to be principally concerned in the fraud, the money being, it seems, for her use.

The writer of the first address, now authorizing the printer to give Mr. Onslow his name, (which he did, and which was that of the Rev. John Horne,) once more attacked the Right Honourable Gentleman as follows, in the same paper, July 28.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE ONSLOW.

GOOD SIR,

If with another INNOCENT man, Lord Holland, you were ambitious to add to the list of Mr. Walpole's Right Honourable authors, you might, like him, have exposed yourself with more temper, and have called names in better English.

I should be sorry to libel you by mistaking your meaning, but the strange manner of wording your first sentence leaves me at a loss to know whether you intend that my letter, or — your own character is "*a gross and infamous lie from beginning to end.*"

You may save yourself the expense of taking "*the best advice in the law.*" Depend upon it you can never "*hope to make an example of the author, when the publisher is unable or unwilling to give up his name.*" And you need not wait for a jury to determine, "*that robbing a man is certainly a robbery.*" But you should have considered some months since that it is the same thing whether the man be guilty or innocent; and whether he be robbed of his reputation or — of his seat in parliament.

In the Public Advertiser of Friday, July 14, there is a letter FROM you as well as TO you. If that is the *scurrility* you speak of, I agree with you that it has been treated *with the contempt it deserves* by all the world; but how you can say that it has passed with *impunity*, I own I cannot conceive, unless indeed you are of opinion with those hardened criminals who think that, because there is no corporal sufferance in it, the being gibbeted in chains and exposed as a spectacle makes no part of their punishment.

The letter written by you to Mr. Wilkes tends more "*to wound your character and honour,*" than any other, and yet you pass it over in silence. But you shall, if you please, prove to the world that those who have neither character nor honour, may still be wounded in a very tender part—their interest. And I believe Lord Hillsborough is too noble to suffer any Lord of the Treasury to prostitute his name and commission to bargains like that I have exposed; but will, if he continues to preside at the Board of Trade, resolutely insist either on such Lord's full justification or dismission.—*Hinc illæ Lachrymæ.*

You "*defy the whole world to prove a single word in my letter to be true; or that the whole is not a barefaced, positive, and entire lie.*" The language of the last part of the sentence is such as I can make no use of, and therefore

fore I return it back on you to whom it belongs: The defiance in the first part I accept, and will disprove what you say.

My letter can only be false in one particular; for it contains only one affirmation, namely, that I heard the story I relate from very good authority. It then concludes with a question to you of—who is this Lord of the Treasury that so abhors corruption? Which question since you have answered, I too will gratify you, and in return for yours do hereby direct the printer to give you my name; which, humble as it is, I should not consent to exchange with you in any other manner.

Now, Sir, I do again affirm that I heard the story from the best authority: And that it is not my invention your own letter is a proof, for I might have heard it either from Mrs. Burns, or from Mr. Pownal, or Mr. Bradshaw, but I heard it from better authority. I go farther. I do still believe the story as I related it to be true; nor has any thing you have said convinced me to the contrary. I do not mean to charge you or any one; but since you have condescended to answer my former question, be kind enough to explain what follows.

Mr. Pownal is secretary to the Board of Trade. Mr. Bradshaw is secretary to the Treasury. Why did these two secretaries come together to you? Were they sent by their Principals or not? Who first detected this very scandalous though very common traffic? Has not Lord Hillsborough that honour? And is not your exaggerated "*abhorrence of corruption, your astonishment, and indeed HORROR at this shocking scene of villany*" vastly heightened by the calm, and therefore unsuspected disapprobation of his Lordship; who does not seem to think with you that every whore should be hanged alive; but only that they should be TURNED OUT of honest company.

How came you so instantly to entertain hopes of getting the money restored to Mrs. Burns? when you declared, that "*till that morning you never in your life heard a single word of either the office itself, nor of any of the parties concerned.*" Jonathan Wild used to return such answers; because he knew the theft was committed by some of his own gang.

You pretend to have given to the Public "*all the knowledge you have of this detestable fraud.*" I cannot believe it, because I find nothing in your letter on which to found your hopes of restoring the money to Mrs. Burns; and especially because in three weeks after this letter, i. e. from June 27 to July 18, you have only discovered "*that Mrs. Smith appears to be principally concerned in this detestable fraud, the money being, it seems, for her use.*" Sir, do you not know whose wife Mrs. Smith is? And are you not acquainted with that gentleman? Have you caused Mrs. Smith or any one else to be taken into custody? Have you taken "*the best advice in law, and are you determined to see if a jury will not do you and the public justice*" for this detestable fraud? Or is there yet left one crime which you abhor more than corruption, and for which you reserve all your indignation? But why this anger? he that is innocent can easily prove himself to be so; and should be thankful to those who give him the opportunity by making a story public. Malicious and false slander never acts in this open manner; but

but seeks the covert, and cautiously conceals itself from the party malignant, in order to prevent a justification. If any person have done your character an injury by a charge of corruption, *they* are most guilty who so thoroughly believed you capable of that crime, as to pay a large sum of money on the supposition: (an indignity*which I protest I would not have offered to you, though you had negotiated the matter and given the promise yourself,) and yet I do not find you at all angry with them when they tell you their opinion of you without scruple. On the contrary, you pity Mrs. Burns in the kindest manner, which shews plainly that your honour is not like Cæsar's wife. Nay, you seem almost to doubt whether you "*might beg the favour of Mr. Burns to meet you at your house in Curzon Street;*" that is, you humbly solicit Mr. Burns to do you the *favour* of accepting your assistance in the recovery of his money. Archbishop Laud thought to clear himself to posterity from all aspersions relative to popery, by inserting in his diary his refusal of a Cardinal's hat; not perceiving the disgrace indelibly fixed on him by the offer. "*Mr. Burns has had the strongest recommendations from persons of undoubted veracity, and I believe on all accounts will be found to be perfectly capable and worthy the employment.*" The letter from Mrs. Burns to you does by no means declare her to be an idiot. Colonel — (whom you forbear to mention) is a man of sense, and well acquainted with the world. It is strange they should all three believe you capable of this crime, which "*of all others you most hold in abhorrence.*" Mr. Pownal, Mr. Bradshaw, and their principals, are supposed to know something of men and things, and therefore I conclude they did *not* believe you concerned in this business: though I wonder much that, *not* believing it, both the secretaries should wait on you so seriously about it; but perhaps they may think, that when honour and justice are not the rules of men's actions, there is nothing incredible that may be for their advantage. But, Sir, whatever may be their sentiments of you, I must intreat you to entertain no resentment to me, my opinion of your character would never suffer me to doubt your innocence. If indeed the charge of corruption had been brought against a low and ignorant debauchee, who, without the gratifications and enjoyments of a gentleman, had wasted a noble patrimony amongst the lowest prostitutes; whose necessities had driven him to hawk about a reversion on the moderate terms of one thousand for two hundred; whose desperate situation had made him renounce his principles and desert his friends, those principles and those friends to which he stood indebted for his chief support; who for a paltry consideration had stabbed a DEAR OLD FRIEND, and violated the sacred rights of that grateful country that continued to the son the reward of his father's services; if the charge had been brought against such an one, more fit to receive the public charity than to be trusted with the DISPOSAL and MANAGEMENT of the public money, small proof would have been sufficient; and instead of considering it as a crime the most to be abhorred, we might have suffered corruption to pass amongst the virtues of such a man. But yours, Sir, is a very different character, and situation. In the clear and unincumbered possession of the paternal estate with which your
ancestors

ancestors have long been respectable; with a pension of three thousand, and a place of one thousand a year; with the certain prospect of Lord Onslow's large fortune, which your prudence will not anticipate; grateful to your country, faithful to your connexions, and firm to your principles, it ought to be as difficult to convict you of corruption, as a cardinal of fornication; for which last purpose by the canon law, no less than seventy-two eye-witnesses are necessary. Thus, Sir, you see how far I am from casting any reflection on your integrity: however if notwithstanding all I have said you are still resolved to try the determination of a jury, take one piece of advice from me: do not think of prosecuting me for an *INSINUATION*: alter your charge before it comes upon record, to prevent its being done afterwards; for though Lord Mansfield did not know the difference between the words when he substituted the one for the other, we all know very well now that it is the *TENOR* and not the *PURPORT* that must convict for a libel, which indeed almost every student in the law knew before.

ANOTHER FREEHOLDER OF SURREY.

The names of Lord Hillsborough and Mr. Pownal having been introduced into the preceding letter, they thought proper to deny any other knowledge of Mr. Onslow's supposed turpitude, than that proceeding from common report, and accordingly inserted the following letters in the *Public Advertiser* on the day after their respective dates. Long as this note is, we cannot, in justice to Mr. Onslow, here omit them.

TO H. S. WOODFALL,

Printer of the Public Advertiser.

Having observed in a newspaper of the 28th of July last, that it is insinuated that I have been the detector of a supposed crime, imputed to the Right Honourable George Onslow, Esq. I do think it an act of common justice to declare, in this public manner, that I am entirely ignorant of the said supposed crime, and of all circumstances relative to it, except that I have heard the story mentioned in common conversation, and constantly treated as a calumny propagated to injure Mr. Onslow's reputation.

Hanover Square,

August 2, 1769.

HILLSBOROUGH.

It having been suggested in a letter addressed to the Right Honourable George Onslow, Esq. published in a newspaper dated the 28th of July last, that I was, together with Mr. Bradshaw, sent to Mr. Onslow, on the subject of a scandalous transaction, in which which Mr. Onslow is, in the said letter, stated to be concerned; it is become necessary for me, in justice to that gentleman, to declare, that I never was sent to Mr. Onslow, on that or any other occasion; but having heard this story, I thought it but common justice to communicate it to Mr. Onslow, which I did through the channel of Mr. Bradshaw.

J. POWNAL.

Whitchall, August 2, 1769.

An action for defamation against Mr. Horne, was brought by Mr. Onslow, agreeably to his menace, and the damages were laid at 10,000*l.*

It

It was tried before Mr. Justice Blackstone, at the Surry Assizes held at Kingston, April 6. 1770, and terminated in Mr. Onslow's nonsuit, in consequence of the word pounds being inserted in the record, instead of the word pound. The cause was re-heard before Lord Chief Justice Mansfield at the ensuing Summer Assizes, held at Guildford, when Mr. Onslow was again nonsuited. The trial is supposed to have cost Mr. Onslow upwards of 1500*l.* in consequence of his having retained all the principal counsel upon the occasion.

No. 6.

SIR,

Sunday, Aug. 6, 1769.

THE spirit of your letter¹ convinces me that you are a much better writer than most of the people whose works you publish. Whether you have guessed well or ill must be left to our future acquaintance. For the matter of assistance, be assured, that if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it. Yet you see how things go, and I fear my assistance would not avail you much. For the other points of printing, &c. it does not depend on us at present. My own works you shall constantly have, and in point of money, be assured you never shall suffer. I wish the inclosed² to be announced to-morrow *conspicuously* for Tuesday. I am not capable of writing any thing more finished.

Your friend,

C.

Your Veridicus is³ Mr. Whitworth. I assure you I have not confided in him.

No. 7.

SIR,

Wednesday night, Aug. 16, 1769.

I HAVE been some days in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter until this night. Your correc-

¹ The substance of Mr. Woodfall's reply to Private Letter, No. 3, is not known.

² JUNIUS, Letter xx.

³ Veridicus was a frequent writer in the Public Advertiser, in the year 1769. and, as already observed in the Preliminary Essay, was Richard Whitworth, Esq. M. P. for Stafford.

tion was perfectly right, the sense required it, and I am much obliged to you. When I spoke of *innumerable* blunders, I meant Newberry's pamphlet; for I must confess that upon the whole your papers are very correctly printed.

Do with my letters exactly what you please. I should think that, to make a better figure than Newberry, some others of my letters may be added, and so throw out a hint, that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan, I shall point out those which I would recommend; for you know, I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all.

I know Mr. Oaslow perfectly. He is a false silly fellow. Depend upon it he will get nothing but shame by contending with Horne¹.

I believe I need not assure you, that I have never written in any other paper since I began with yours. As to JUNIUS, I must wait for fresh matter, as this is a character which must be kept up with credit. Avoid prosecutions if you can; but, above all things, avoid the Houses of Parliament,—there is no contending with them. At present you are safe, for this House of Commons has lost all dignity, and dare not do any thing.

Adieu,
C.

No. 8.

(Private)

SIR,

Sept. 10, 1769.

THE last letter you printed was idle and improper, and I assure you printed against my own opinion². The truth is, there are people about me, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see JUNIUS in the papers ever so improperly than not at all. I wish it could be recalled. Suppose you were to say—*We have some reason to suspect that the last letter signed Junius in this paper, was not written by the real Junius, though the observation escaped us at the*

¹ This contest is already related in the note to Private Letters, No. 5.

² It occurs in the Miscellaneous Letters, No. LIX. In the genuine edition it was omitted for the reason which the author has here specified.

18910.

The Similes of the hand writing of James in his private letters to W. H. Woodfall
Thursday night

I shall be glad to see the packet you speak of. It cannot come from the fan-dishes, the there be no end of the family. They would not be so silly as to put their arms on the cover. As to me, be assured that it is not in the nature of things that they, or you, or anybody else should ever know me, unless I make myself known. All arts or Inquiries, or rewards would be equally ineffectual.

As to you, it is clearly my opinion, that you have nothing to fear from the L. of B. I reserve some things expressly to awe him, in case he should think of bringing you before the H. of L. - I am sure, I can threaten him privately with such a storm, as would humble even his Grace. You may send tomorrow to the same place without farther notice; & if you have

any thing of your own to communicate, I shall be glad to hear it.

Nº 6.

Sunday.

For the spirit of your letter convinces me that you are a much better writer than most of the people, whose works you publish. Whether you have guessed well or ill must be left to our future acquaintance. For the matter of assistance, be assured that, if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it. Yet you see how things go, and I fear my assistance would not avail you much. For the other point of printing &c it does not depend upon us at present. My own work, I fear you shall constantly have, & in point of money, be assured you never shall suffer. I wish the inclosed to be announced tomorrow, ^{conspicuously} for Tuesday. I am not capable of writing any thing more finished your friend your kindred is Mr. Whitworth. I assure you I have not confided in him.

time: or, if you can hit off any thing yourself more plausible, you will much oblige me, but without a positive assertion. Don't let it be the same day with the enclosed. Begging your pardon for this trouble, I remain your friend and humble servant,

C.

 No. 9.

(Private)

SIR,

Friday night, Sept. 15, 1769.

I BEG you will to-morrow advertise *Junius to another Duke in our next*¹. If Monday's paper be engaged, then let it be for Tuesday, but not advertised till Monday. You shall have it some time to-morrow night. It cannot be corrected and copied sooner. I mean to make it worth printing.

Yours,

C.

 No. 10.

Thursday night, Oct. 5, 1769.

I SHALL be glad to see the packet you speak of². It cannot come from the Cavendishes, though there be no end of the family. They would not be so silly as to put their arms on the cover. As to me, be assured that it is not in the nature of things, that they, or you, or any body else should ever know me, unless I make myself known. All arts or enquiries, or rewards would be equally ineffectual.

As to *you*, it is clearly my opinion, that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him, in case he should think of bringing you before the House of Lords.—I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm, as would make him tremble even in his grave. You may send to-morrow to the same

¹ This note accompanied the letter to his Grace the Duke of Bedford, JUNIUS, No. XXIII. and was announced agreeably to the above request in the Public Advertiser for September 18, 1769.

² The nature of this communication is not known.

place without farther notice; and if you have any thing of your own to communicate, I shall be glad to hear it.

C.

No. 11.

SIR,

Nov. 8, 1769.

I HAVE been out of town for three weeks, and, though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it. Be so good as to signify to A. B. C., either by word of mouth, or in your own hand, "that his papers are received, and that I should have been ready to do him the service he desires; but at present it would be quite useless to the parties, and might offend some persons who must not be offended." As to Mr. Mortimer¹, only make him some civil excuse.

I should be much obliged to you, if you would reprint (and in the front page, if not improper or inconvenient) a letter in the London Evening Post of last night, to the Duke of Grafton². If it had not been anticipated, I should have touched upon the subject myself. However, it is not ill done, and it is very material that it should spread. The person alluded to is Lord Denbigh. I should think you might venture him with a *D*. As it stands few people can guess who is meant. The only thing that hinders my pushing the subject of my last letter, is really the fear of ruining that poor devil Gansel, and those other blockheads.—But as soon as a good subject offers.—Your types really wanted mending.

C.

No. 12.

SIR,

Nov. 12, 1769.

I RETURN you the letters you sent me yesterday. A man who can neither write common English, nor spell, is hardly worth attending to. It is probably a trap for me. I should be glad, however, to know what the fool means. If he writes

¹ Mr. Mortimer was either at this time, or shortly afterwards, employed by Mr. Woodfall to procure intelligence for the Public Advertiser.

² See Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXI.

again, open his letter, and if it contains any thing worth my knowing, send it: otherwise not. Instead of C. in the usual place, say only *A Letter* when you have occasion to write to me again.—I shall understand you.

No. 13.

Thursday, Nov. 16, 1769.

As I do not chuse to answer for any body's sins but my own, I must desire you to say to-morrow, "We can assure the Public that the letter, signed A. B. relative to the Duke of Rutland, is not written by the author of JUNIUS¹."

I sometimes change my signature, but could have no reason to change the paper, especially for one that does not circulate half so much as yours. C.

For the future, open all letters to me, and don't send them, unless of importance.—I can give you light about Veridicus².

No. 14

Sunday, Dec. 10, 1769.

I WOULD wish the paper (No. 2.) might be advertised for Tuesday³.

By way of intelligence you may inform the Public that Mr. De la Fontaine, *for his secret services in the Alley*, is appointed Barrack-master to the Savoy.

I hope A. B. C. has got his papers again.

No. 15.

SIR,

December 12, 1769.

You may tell Mr. A. B. C. that I did not receive his letter till last night, and have not had time to look into the

¹ See Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXI. and note * appended to it.

² See note to Private Letters, No. 6.

³ The paper here referred to is the Letter of JUNIUS, No. xxxiv. The ensuing intelligence was published verbally in the Public Advertiser of the next day, Dec. 11.

paper annexed. I cannot at present understand what use I can make of it. It certainly shall not be an ungenerous one to him. If he or his counsel *know how to act*, I have saved him already, and really without intending it.—The facts are all literally true. Mr. Hine's place is Customer at the port of Exeter. Colonel Burgoyne received 4000*l.* for it. To mend the matter, the money was raised by contribution, and the subscribers quartered upon Mr. Hine. Among the rest, one Doctor Brook, a physician at Exeter, has 100*l.* a year out of the salary. I think you might give these particulars in your own way to the public¹. As to yourself, I am convinced the ministry will not venture to attack you, they dare not submit to such an enquiry. If they do, shew no fear, but tell them plainly you will justify, and subpoena Mr. Hine, Burgoyne, and Bradshaw of the Treasury—that will silence them at once.—As to the House of Commons there may be more danger. But even there I am fully satisfied the ministry will exert themselves to quash such an inquiry, and on the other side, you will have friends:—but they have been so grossly abused on all sides, that they will hardly begin with *you*.

Tell A. B. C. his paper shall be returned. I am now meditating a capital, and I hope a final piece;—you shall hear of it shortly².

No. 16.

Dec. 19, 1769.

FOR *material* affection, for God's sake read *maternal*; it is in the sixth paragraph³. The rest is excellently done.

¹ The facts were given to the public by JUNIUS himself, in Letter xxxiv. Vol. I. p. 187, and are indeed touched upon more than once in his subsequent letters

² He refers to the Letter to the King, JUNIUS, No. xxxv.

³ Letter to the King, JUNIUS, No. xxxv.

No. 17.

SIR,

Dec. 26, 1769.

WITH the inclosed alterations I should think our paper might appear¹. As to embowelling, do whatever you think proper, provided you leave it intelligible to vulgar capacities; but would not it be the shortest way at once to print it, in an anonymous pamphlet? judge for yourself. I enter seriously into the anxiety of your situation, at the same time I am strongly inclined to think that you will not be called upon². They cannot do it without subjecting Hine's affair to an inquiry, which would be worse than death to the minister. As it is, they are more seriously stabbed with this last stroke than all the rest.—At any rate, stand firm—(I mean with all the humble appearances of contrition)—if you trim or falter, you will lose friends without gaining others. A. B. C. has done right in publishing his letter, it defends him more effectually than all his nonsense.—I believe I shall give him a lift, for I really think he has been punished infinitely beyond his merits.—I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but if things take the turn I expect, you shall know *me by my works*.

C.

No. 18.

(Private)

SIR,

Jan. 12, 1770.

I DESIRED A. B. C. not to write to me until I gave him notice, he must therefore blame himself, if the detention of his papers has been inconvenient to him. Pray tell him this,

¹ This paper is supposed to have been totally suppressed, the alterations introduced into it, not having perhaps satisfied the Printer of his safety in publishing it, as the signal of a private communication from him to the author appeared in the P. A. of the next day.

² The Printer was threatened by the Minister with a prosecution for publishing the letter of JUNIUS, No. XXXIII. and the court of King's Bench was actually moved on his behalf; but probably for the reason mentioned above, the threat was never executed.

and that he shall have them in a day or two. I shall also keep my promise to him¹, but to do it immediately would be useless to *him*, and unadviseable with respect to myself. I believe you may banish your fears. The information² will only be for a misdemeanour, and I am advised that no jury, especially in these times, will find it. I suspect the channel, through which you have your intelligence. It will be carried on coldly. You must not write to me again, but be assured I will never desert you. I received your letters regularly, but it was *impossible* to answer them sooner. You shall hear from me again shortly.

No. 19.

(Private)

Sir,

Beginning of Feb. 1770.

WHEN you consider to what excessive enmities I may be exposed, you will not wonder at my caution. I really have not known how to procure your last. If it be not of any great moment I would wish you to recall it. If it be give me a hint. If your affair should come to a trial³, and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls particularly on yourself; for I understand you are engaged with other proprietors. Some way or other *you* shall be reimbursed. But seriously and *bona fide*, I think it is impossible.

C.

¹ See JUNIUS, No. xxxiii. and xxxvi. for an explanation of the fact and papers here referred to.

² The information was for publishing the Letter to the King, JUNIUS, No. xxxv. for the particulars of which see the author's Preface, post p. 10.

³ The trial referred to is stated more fully in another part of this publication, and alludes to an information filed by the Attorney-General, in consequence of the printer's having published the letter of JUNIUS to the King, No. xxxv. The copy of the information was procured in Hilary term, 1770, and the trial took place at Guildhall, June 13th following. The costs to the printer in defending himself, though ultimately successful, amounted to about 120*l*. a somewhat heavy fine for a person not found guilty.

No. 20.

About Feb. 14, 1770.

I have carefully perused the information¹. It is so loose and ill-drawn, that I am persuaded Mr. De Grey could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it should, it is not possible for a jury to find you guilty.

No. 21.

Saturday, March 17, 1770.

To-morrow before twelve you shall have a JUNIUS, it will be absolutely necessary that it should be published on Monday.

Would it be possible to give notice of it to-night or to-morrow, by dispersing a few hand-bills? Pray do whatever you think will answer this purpose best, for now is the crisis².

C.

No. 22.

Sunday, March 18, 1770.

THIS letter is written wide, and I suppose will not fill two columns. For God's sake let it appear to-morrow. I hope you received my note of yesterday.

Lord Chatham is determined to go to the Hall to support the Westminster remonstrance³. I have no doubt that we shall conquer them at last.

C.

¹ The information here referred to, is that noticed in the note to the preceding letter.

² The letter referred to, is printed JUNIUS, No. XXXVII.

³ Agreed upon at a general meeting of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, assembled in Westminster Hall, March 28, 1770, in consequence of their petition to his Majesty, requesting him to dissolve the Parliament which had expelled Mr. Wilkes, having been rejected. The following is a copy of the remonstrance:—

“The

"The humble address, remonstrance, and petition of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, assembled in Westminster Hall the 28th day of March, 1770.

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, having already presented our humble, but ineffectual, application to the throne, find ourselves, by the misconduct of your Majesty's ministers, in confederacy with many of our representatives, reduced to the necessity of again breaking in by our complaints upon your Majesty's repose, or of acquiescing under grievances so *NEW* and so *EXORBITANT*, that none but those who patiently submit to them, can deserve to suffer them.

"By the same *secret* and *unhappy* influence to which all our grievances have been originally owing, the redress of those grievances has been now prevented; and the grievances themselves have been repeatedly confirmed; with this additional circumstance of aggravation, that while the invaders of our rights remain the directors of your Majesty's councils, the defenders of those rights have been dismissed from your Majesty's service—your Majesty having been advised by your ministers to remove from his employment for his vote in Parliament, the highest officer of the law; because his principles suited ill with theirs, and his pure distribution of justice with their corrupt administration of it in the House of Commons.

"We beg leave, therefore, again to represent to your Majesty, that the House of Commons have struck at the most valuable liberties and franchises of all the electors of Great Britain; and by assuming to themselves a right of chusing, instead of receiving a member when chosen, by transferring to the representative what belonged to the constituent, they have taken off from the dignity, and, we fear, impaired the authority of Parliament itself.

"We presume again therefore humbly to implore from your Majesty, the only remedies which are any way proportioned to the nature of the evil: that you would be graciously pleased to dismiss for ever from your councils, those ministers who are ill-suited by their dispositions to preserve the principles of a free, or by their capacities to direct the councils of a great and mighty kingdom; and that by speedily dissolving the present Parliament, your Majesty will shew, by your own example, and by their dissolution, that the rights of your people are to be inviolable, and that you will never necessitate so many injured, and by such treatment exasperated subjects to continue to commit the care of their interests to those from whom they must withdraw their confidence; to repose their invaluable privileges in the hands of those who have sacrificed them; and their trust in those who have betrayed it.

"Your subjects look up with satisfaction to the powers which the constitution has vested in your Majesty—for it is upon them that they have placed their last dependance, and they trust, that the right of dissolving parliaments, which has, under former princes, so often answered the purposes of power, may under your Majesty prove an happy instrument of liberty.

"We

No. 23.

(Private)

Friday Morn. Oct. 19, 1770.

By your affected silence¹, you encourage an idle opinion that I am the author of the *Whig*², &c. though you very well know the contrary. I neither admire the writer nor his idol. I hope you will soon set this matter right.

C.

"We find ourselves compelled to urge with the greater importunity, this our humble but earnest application to the throne, as every day seems to produce the confirmation of some old, or to threaten the introduction of some new injury.—We have the strongest reason to apprehend that the usurpation begun by the House of Commons upon the right of electing, may be extended to the right of petitioning; and that under the pretence of restraining the abuse of this right, it is meant to bring into disrepute, and to intimidate us from the exercise of the right itself.

"But whatever may be the purposes of others, your Majesty hath in your answer to the city of London, most graciously declared, *that you are always ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints of your subjects.* Your Majesty condescends likewise to esteem it *a duty to secure to them the free enjoyment of those rights which your family were called to defend.*

"We rely, therefore, upon the Royal word thus given, that our grievances will meet with full redress, and our complaints with the most favourable interpretation—that your Majesty will never consider the arraignment of your ministers as a disrespect to your person, a charge confined, by the very terms of it, to this House of Commons, as injurious to Parliament at large (the constitution of which we admire, and the abuse of which is the very thing we lament); or a request for the dissolution of Parliament, which your subjects have a right to make, and your Majesty to grant, as *irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.*"

¹ "The Printer really did not AFFECT a silence on a CERTAIN OCCASION, with a view of encouraging his readers or correspondents in an idle opinion: the motives for his conduct were, the fear of being thought impertinent by declaring (without direction) what he knew; and the probability of rendering himself liable to incur the displeasure of either of those who were pleased to favour him with their correspondence."—Answer to Correspondents, Oct. 25, 1770.

² This letter was printed in the Public Advertiser under the signature of a Whig and an Englishman, Oct. 11, 1770, and refers chiefly to the American Stamp Act, and the opinion of Lord Chatham, whom the author panegyricized in very warm terms. The same writer had already published several other letters in the same name: and the Printer, in compliance with the request of JUNIUS, gave the following notice:—

"October

No. 24.

SIR,

Monday Evening, Nov. 12, 1770.

THE enclosed¹ though begun within these few days, has been greatly laboured. It is very correctly copied, and I beg you will take care that it be literally printed as it stands. I don't think you run the least risque. We have got the rascal down, let us strangle him if it be possible. This paper should properly have appeared to-morrow, but I could not compass it, so let it be announced to-morrow, and printed Wednesday. If you should have any fears, I entreat you send it early enough to Miller, to appear to-morrow night in the London Evening Post. In that case, you will oblige me by informing the Public to-morrow, in *your own paper*, that a real JUNIUS will appear at night in the London.—Miller, I am sure, will have no scruples.

Lord Mansfield has thrown ministry into confusion, by suddenly resigning the office of Speaker of the House of Lords.

No. 25.

Wednesday Night, Nov. 21, 1770².

I SHALL be very glad to hear from your friend at Guildhall.— You may, if you think proper, give my compliments to him, and tell him, if it be possible, I will make use of any materials he will give me. I will never rest till I have destroyed or expelled that wretch.—I wish you joy of yesterday.—The fellow truckles already³. C.

"October 20.

"The Printer thinks it his duty to declare, that the Letters which have appeared in this paper under the signature of *A Whig and an Englishman*, were not written by the author of those signed JUNIUS.

¹ Letter xli. JUNIUS to the Right Hon. Lord Mansfield

² On the outside of this note was written, "the enclosed strikes deeper than you may imagine. C." The Letter here referred to, is printed in the Miscellaneous Collection, No. LXXVIII. and is subscribed *Testiculus*.

³ In allusion to the unanimous judgment of the Court of King's Bench, on the verdict for printing the Letter to the King, given Nov. 20th, 1770; by which Lord Mansfield lost his object, and the Printer was granted a new Trial.

No. 26.

Friday, 1 o'clock, Dec. 7, 1770.

I WISH it were possible for you to print the enclosed to-morrow¹, observe the Italics *strictly* where they are marked. Why don't I hear from Guildhall.—If he trifles with me, he shall hear of it². C.

No. 27.

SIR,

January 2, 1771.

I HAVE received your mysterious epistle, I dare say a letter may safely be left at the same place; but you may change the direction to Mr. John Fretley. You need not advertise it.

Yours,

C.

No. 28.

Jan. 16, 1771.

You may assure the Public that a squadron of four ships of the line is ordered to be got ready with *all possible expedition* for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry. Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance *I* give you, that every man in administration looks upon war as inevitable³.

¹ The paper here referred to, is Miscellaneous Letter, No. LXXIX. signed *Domitian*, and was printed as requested.

² The allusion is to a communication between the writer and Mr. Wilkes, which had been promised by the latter, but had not been at this time received.

³ Inserted in the Public Advertiser, January 17, nearly in the same words. The predicted war, however, did not follow, but the preparation was actually made in the full belief, on the part of the cabinet themselves, that they would be compelled to go to war, by the existing temper of the people, irritated by the dishonourable negotiation concerning the Spanish seizure of Falkland Islands, and that they should be accused of indolence, and even cowardice, by the approaching Parliament. The session opened only four days afterwards, and the question of hostilities was so much upon a balance, that in the lower House not fewer than 159 members divided against the Minister, upon the address of thanks and approbation.

No. 29.

Thursday, Jan. 31, 1771.

THE paper is extremely well printed, and has a great effect¹; it is of the utmost importance to the public cause that the doors of the House of Lords should be opened on Tuesday next, perhaps the following may help to shame them into it.

We hear that the ministry intend to move for opening the doors of both Houses of Parliament on Tuesday next, in the usual manner, being desirous that the nation should be exactly informed of their whole conduct in the business of Falkland Island.

(Next Day.)

The nation expect, that on Tuesday next at least, both Houses will be open as usual, otherwise there will be too much reason to suspect, that the proceedings of the ministry have been such as will not bear a public discussion.

We hear that the ministry intend to move, that no gentleman may be refused admittance into either House on Tuesday next. Lord North in particular thinks it touches his character, to have no part of his conduct concealed from the nation.

The resolution of the ministry to move for opening both Houses on Tuesday next does them great honour. If they were to do otherwise, it would raise and justify suspicions very disadvantageous to their own reputation, and to the King's honour.

Pray keep it up. C.

No. 30.

SIR,

Tuesday Noon, Feb. 5, 1771.

I DID not receive your letter until this day. I shall be very glad to hear what you have to communicate.

C.

You need not advertise any notice.

¹ It refers to JUNIUS, No. XLII. For the nature of the subject alluded to, see the Letter, and the Notes subjoined to it; as also Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXXXVIII. and the note in explanation.

No. 31.

(Private)

Monday, Feb. 11, 1771.

OUR correspondence is attended with difficulties, yet I should be glad to see the paper you mention; let it be left to-morrow *without farther notice*. I am seriously of opinion that it will all end in smoke¹. C.

No. 32.

Monday, Feb. 18, 1771.

IF you are not grown too ministerial in your politics, I shall hope to see the enclosed announced to-morrow and published on Wednesday².

No. 33.

SIR,

Feb. 21, 1771.

It will be very difficult, if not impracticable, for me to get your note. I presume it relates to Vindex³. I leave it to

¹ In reference to a notice from the Attorney-General for publishing Letter of JUNIUS, No. LXII. but which was never farther proceeded upon.

² This note accompanied No. xc. of the Miscellaneous Letters. The Printer had some scruples about publishing the whole of it; and in the Public Advertiser of Feb. 20, gave the usual mark, "A Letter," that a private letter was in waiting upon this subject. In consequence of which the subsequent note was received, dated Feb. 21.

³ The following is a copy of the letter which Mr. Woodfall addressed to the author under the feigned name of Mr. John Fretley, and directed it to him at the New Exchange Coffee-house, in the Strand.

"SIR,

"To have deserved any portion of your good opinion, affords me no small degree of satisfaction—to preserve it shall be my constant endeavour. Always willing to oblige you as much as lies in my power, I, with great avidity, open your letters; and sometimes, without reading the contents, promise the publication.—Such is my present situation, and I hope you will not be offended at my declining to publish your Letter, as I am convinced the subject of it must, if I was to insert it, render me liable to very
severe

you to alter or omit as you think proper;—or burn it.—I think the argument about Gibraltar¹, &c. is too good to be lost; as to the satirical part, I must tell you, (and with positive certainty,) that our gracious —— is as callous as stockfish to every thing but the reproach of *cowardice*. That alone is able to set the humours afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat meat for a week².

You may rely upon it, the ministry are sick of prosecutions. Those against JUNIUS cost the Treasury above six thousand pounds, and after all they got nothing but disgrace. After the paper you have printed to-day, (signed Brutus³)

severe reprehension. That I am not grown too ministerial in my politics, every day's paper will, I hope, sufficiently evince; though I rather hope some little regard to prudence will not by you be deemed squeamishness, or tend to lessen me in your opinion, as I shall ever think myself your

“Much obliged humble servant,

Feb. 19, 1771.

“HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL.

“P. S. I shall wait your directions what to do with the paper in question, as I did not chuse to trust it under cover till I was further acquainted with your pleasure.”

¹ For the explanation of this passage, see Miscellaneous Letters, No. xc. signed *Vindex*.

² See p. 233 of this Vol. note.

³ This Letter was addressed to Lord North, and as it is short, it is here transcribed, in proof that JUNIUS was not severe in his opinion of it, nor singularly acrimonious in the phraseology originally adopted by himself.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD NORTH.

MY LORD,

I never address your Lordship but I feel the utmost horror and indignation; for I consider you as a man totally regardless of your own honour, and the welfare of your country.

The severity of a writer cannot be supposed to give your Lordship any uneasiness; a minister, whose schemes extend only to the exigencies of a year, but little regards his present or future reputation; yet it is a duty we owe to the public to trace out and expose the villain wherever we can perceive him working up the ruin of his country.

The choice of your friends is an eminent indication of your abilities and the blackness of your heart.

Nam quicumq; impudicus, adulter, ganeo, a'lea, manu, ventre, bona patria laceravit, quique alienum æs grande conflavit, immediately flies into your arms, and reimburses himself with the plunder of his country.

Such are the guardians of our liberties and law: such are the men to whom our constitution is entrusted: and cannot we then, without any particular

one would think you feared nothing. For my own part I can very truly assure you that nothing would afflict me more than to have drawn you into a personal danger, because it admits of no recompence. A little expense is not to be regarded, and I hope these papers have reimbursed you. I never will send you any thing that *I* think dangerous, but the *risque*¹ is yours, and you must determine for yourself.

C.

All the above is private.

ticular discernment, or any remarkable acuteness of observation, trace out the origin of our present discontents?

It would be needless to follow you through that maze of villany, in which you have long delighted to wander; I shall only attack those measures which occur to our more immediate consideration:

In what manner can you answer to your King for the scandalous prostitution of his crown and himself?

In what manner can you answer to your country for the total disregard of its welfare and dignity?

After all these formidable preparations; after all this expensive armament, you have made shift to patch up a temporary ignominious compromise, at the trifling expense of about three millions, and the British honour.

You imagine yourself sufficiently secured in the pursuit of your infamous intentions, and in the practice of every illegal and unconstitutional measure, by the countenance of the King. Rely not too much on that protection. His Majesty must not be suffered, through a blind and ridiculous attachment to an individual, or through a filial obedience, which then becomes criminal, to ruin and subvert his infatuated kingdoms.

Your late acquisition of Lord Suffolk will not do you much honour: he is of the same stamp with the rest of your adherents. His Lordship has given the world a very strong impression of his character, and the disposition of his heart, by deserting his principal, and the cause in which he originally embarked, and by betraying that friendship, which in the more early and virtuous time of his life he had contracted. His former party need not regret the loss of him, for they are by his desertion disencumbered of a ———.

But I will now leave you, my Lord, to that mature insensibility which is only to be acquired by a steady perseverance in infamy.

Every principle of conscience you have long ago been hardy enough to discard. There has not been an action in the last two years of your life but what separately deserves imprisonment. The time may come; and remember, my Lord, there is a very short period between a minister's imprisonment and his grave.

BRUTUS.

¹ This peculiarity is the author's.

No. 34.

Friday noon, April 19, 1771.

I HOPE you will approve of announcing the inclosed JUNIUS to-morrow¹, and publishing it on Monday. If, for any reasons that do not occur to me, you should think it unadvisable to print it as it stands, I must entreat the favour of you to transmit it to Bingley, and satisfy him that it is a real JUNIUS, worth a North Briton Extraordinary. It will be impossible for me to have an opportunity of altering any part of it.

I am, very truly, your friend,

C.

No. 35.

Thursday, June 20, 1771.

I AM strangely partial to the enclosed². It is finished with the utmost care. If I find myself mistaken in my judgment of this paper, I positively will never write again.

C.

Let it be announced to-morrow, JUNIUS to the Duke of Grafton for Saturday.

I think Wilkes has closed well. I hope he will keep his resolution not to write any more³.

¹ JUNIUS, Letter XLIV. which was printed as requested.

² JUNIUS, No. XLIX. to the Duke of Grafton.

³ In allusion to the dispute between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne, conducted with great acrimony, till the former resolved, as here advised, not to answer after a definite period any additional letters, in consequence of the total occupation of his time in his canvass for the office of Sheriff of London, for which he was then a candidate, and to which situation he ultimately succeeded. The following is the conclusion of the letter here spoken of, which was, of course, addressed to Mr. Horne.

“Whether you proceed, Sir, to a *thirteenth*, or a *thirtieth* letter, is to me a matter of the most entire indifference. You will no longer have me your correspondent. All the efforts of your malice and rancour cannot give me a moment’s disquietude. They will only torment your own breast. I am wholly indifferent about your sentiments of me, happy in the favourable opinion of many valuable friends, in the most honourable connections, both public and private, and in the prospect of rendering myself eminently useful

No. 36.

July 16, 1771.

To prevent any unfair use being made of the enclosed, I intreat you to keep a copy of it. Then seal and deliver it to Mr. Horne. I presume you know where he is to be found¹.

C.

No. 37.

August 13, 1771.

PRAY make an erratum for *ultimate* in the paragraph about the Duke of Grafton, it should be *intimate*, the rest is very correct². If Mr. Horne answers this letter handsomely and in point, he shall be my great Apollo.

No. 38.

Wednesday Noon, Sept. 25, 1771.

THE enclosed is of such importance, so very material, that it *must* be given to the public immediately³.

I will not advise;—though I think you perfectly safe:—all I say is that *I rely* upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, or to-night in the *Pacquet*.

I have not been able to get yours from that place, but you shall hear from me soon.

ful to my country. Formerly in exile, when I was *urbe patriaque extorris*, and torn from every sacred tie of friendship, I have moistened my bread with my tears. The rest of my life I hope to enjoy my morsel at home in peace and cheerfulness, among those I love and honour, far from the malignant eye of the false friend, and the insidious hypocrite.

“I am, Sir,

“Your humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.”

¹ Note inclosing JUNIUS's Letter to the Rev. Mr. Horne, No. LII.

² JUNIUS, Letter LIV. This letter appeared on the 13th of August, 1771, though in the author's edition it is by mistake dated the 15th.

³ The Letter referred to is JUNIUS, No. LVII. and was printed in the P. A. Saturday, Sept. 28th, 1771.

No. 39.

About Nov. 5, 1771.

YOUR reasons are very just about printing the Preface, &c. It is your own affair. Do what ever you think proper. I am convinced that the book will sell, and I suppose will make two volumes,—the type might be one size larger than Wheble's. But of all this you are the best judge. I think you should give money to the waiters at that place to make them more attentive¹. The notes should be in smaller type.

Pray find out, if you can, upon what day the late Duke of Bedford was flogged on the course at Litchfield by Mr. Hes-ton Homphrey².

No. 40.

Friday, Nov. 8, 1771.

THE above to that Scotchman should be printed conspicuously to-morrow³. At last I have concluded my great work, and I assure you with no small labour. I would have you begin to advertise immediately, and publish before the meeting of parliament; let all *my* papers in defence of JUNIUS be inserted.⁴ I shall now supply you very fast with copy and notes. The paper and type should at least be as good as Wheble's⁵. You must correct the press yourself, but I should be glad to see corrected proofs of the two first sheets. Shew the Dedication and Preface to Mr. Wilkes, and if he has any *material* objection, let me know. I say *material* because of the difficulty of getting your letter. C.

(Secret.)

Beware of David Garrick⁶, he was sent to pump you, and

¹ A coffee-house at which letters, &c. were left for JUNIUS.

² See JUNIUS, Letter XXIII.

³ See Letters of JUNIUS, No. LXVI.

⁴ The Letters signed *Philo-Junius*: those numbered LXIII. and LXIV. and the extracts from the letters to the Supporters of the Bill of Rights.

⁵ The present respectable proprietor and publisher of the County Chronicle.

⁶ Garrick had received a letter from Woodfall just before the above note of JUNIUS was sent to the Printer, in which Garrick was told, in confidence,

went directly to Richmond to tell the King I should write no more. The Dedication must stand first.

No. 41.

TO MR. DAVID GARRICK.

Nov. 10, 1771.

I AM very exactly informed of your impertinent inquiries, and of the information you so busily sent to Richmond, and with what triumph and exultation it was received. I knew every particular of it the next day.—Now mark me, vagabond.—Keep to your pantomimes, or be assured you shall hear of it. Meddle no more, thou busy informer!—It is in *my* power to make you curse the hour in which you dared to interfere with

JUNIUS¹.

dence, that there were some doubts whether JUNIUS would continue to write much longer. Garrick flew with the intelligence to Mr. Ramus, one of the pages to the King, who immediately conveyed it to his Majesty, at that time residing at Richmond, and from the peculiar sources of information that were open to this extraordinary writer, JUNIUS was apprized of the whole transaction on the ensuing morning, and wrote the above postscript, and the letter that follows it, in consequence.

¹ Mr. Garrick had, before this period, been threatened for his supposed political bias to the Court, as will appear from a charge which Mr. Horne brought forward against Mr. Wilkes, during the personal altercation which took place between them in the months of May and June preceding the date of this letter, and which is more particularly noticed in the note to JUNIUS, Letter No. LII. Mr. Horne's accusation is as follows:—

“Whilst Mr. Wilkes was in the King's Bench, he sent a threatening message to Mr. Garrick to forbid his playing the part of *Hastings* in the tragedy of *Jane Shore*; on account of some lines in that play which Mr. Wilkes thought applicable to his own situation. Mr. Garrick complained exceedingly of the cruelty of such an interdict, and wished to be permitted to proceed in his endeavours to please the public in the common course of his profession. The patriot was inexorable; and Mr. Garrick has not appeared in that character since. The *Lord Chamberlain's* control by Act of Parliament over the pleasures of the public is exercised only over new plays.”

To this charge Mr. Wilkes replied as follows, offering several justly merited compliments to the hitherto unrivalled genius of Mr. Garrick.

“TO

I would send the above to Garrick directly, but that I would avoid having this hand too commonly seen. Oblige me, then, so much as to have it copied in any hand, and sent by the penny post, that is if you dislike sending it in your own writing.—I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days;

“ TO THE REV. MR. HORNE.

“ SIR, Prince’s Court, Thursday, June 6, 1771.

“ Your *ninth* Letter has relieved me not a little by taking me to the theatre, and recalling to my delighted remembrance the amazing powers both of nature and art in the most wonderful genius that ever trod the English, or perhaps any stage, for his rival, Roscius, had a great defect, *erat perversissimis oculis*. You say ‘whilst Mr Wilkes was in the King’s Bench,’ &c. The whole of this pompous tale is, that some warm friends of Mr. Wilkes imagined that Mr. Garrick acted the part of *Hastings* at that time in a manner very different from what he had usually done, and marked too strongly some particular passages, unfavourable to the generous principles, and to the friends, of freedom. They talked of expressing their disapprobation in the theatre, at the next representation of *Jane Shore*, and likewise in the public prints. Mr. Wilkes therefore thought it prudent to state the case by two or three gentlemen to Mr. Garrick himself, and said, he *feared* the part of *Hastings* might bring on many disagreeable consequences to the great actor himself as well as to Mr. Wilkes and his connections, if continued in the manner then stated. Mr. Garrick received the friendly admonition in the most friendly way, but declared that the gentlemen, who had given Mr. Wilkes the account of his acting *Hastings*, had greatly mistaken, that he had not made the least alteration in the usual manner of acting that part on account of the political disputes of the times, but been solely guided by his own feelings: that he always had acted that part, and always should play it in the same manner, not however slavishly copying himself, but with all the variety which from time to time his genius might dictate, preserving still the cast and spirit of the original character. Nothing more passed on this subject between Mr. Garrick and me, nor has that gentleman ever expressed the slightest displeasure against Mr. Wilkes, or his friends; so far has he been from *complaining exceedingly of the cruelty of an interdict*, which never existed.

“ Did it escape your memory, Sir, that one of the objections made at that time by my friends, was the peculiar emphasis Mr Garrick was said to give to the following lines of *Hastings*, which some thought applicable to your situation:—

Ill befall

Such meddling Priests, who kindle up confusion,
And vex the quiet world with their vain scruples;
By heaven ’tis done in perfect spirit to peace.

“ YOU!

or, if I did, they would attain me by bill. Change to the *Somerset Coffee-house*, and let no mortal know the alteration. I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction. Act honourably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me.

I think the second page, with the widest lines, looks best. What is your essential reason for the change¹? I send you some more sheets.—I think the paper is not so good as *Wheble's*,—but I may be mistaken—the type is good. The aspersions thrown upon my letter to the Bill of Rights² should be refuted by publication.

Prevail upon Mr. Wilkes to let you have extracts of my second and third letters to him. It will make the book still

“You say, ‘I think with half his (Mr. Garrick’s) merit I should have had twice his courage.’ If you mean *theatrical merit*, I can tell you of some parts, in which you would infinitely exceed our great English actor. I mean all those parts from which—*fugiant Pudor, Verumque, Fidesque. In quorum subeunt Locum Fraudes, Dolique, Insidieque, &c &c* You would act, and be *Iago* with success. Mr. Garrick has that *in him*, which must ever prevent his acting well in that character. You have that *in you*, which would make it easy and natural. *Shylock* too our *Roscus* must never attempt. The Christian Priest of Brentford has no *vain scruples* to prevent his undertaking and being applauded in that part. He might then talk of *dying his black coat red with blood* in an innocent way on the stage, which at Brentford inspired a savage horror.

“The pleasing hours, which Mr. Garrick gave me at the King’s Bench, I have deducted from the injury of a long and cruel imprisonment, and I think of him as Cicero did of the great Roman actor, *cum artifex ejusmodi sit, ut solus dignus videatur esse, qui in scena spectetur: tum vir ejusmodi est, ut solus dignus videatur, qui eo non accedat.*

“I am, &c.

“JOHN WILKES.”

¹ In allusion to a specimen of the intended genuine edition of the Letters.

² In the correspondence which took place between Mr. Wilkes and JUNIUS, two of his letters related to the Bill of Rights Society, and were written in disapprobation of several of their measures. These letters were, in many respects, misrepresented to the public, and in his own opinion, *purposely* so by Mr. Horne. The explanatory extracts here referred to, were re-published at the close of the second volume of the genuine edition, and will be found in Vol. II. p. 149. The letters are given at length in the private correspondence of JUNIUS and Mr. Wilkes.

more new. I would see them before they are printed, but keep this last to yourself¹.

No. 42.

Nov. 11, 1771.

PRINT the following as soon as you think proper, and at the head of your paper².

I sent you three sheets of copy last night.

When you send to me, instead of the usual signal, say, *Vindex shall be considered*, and keep the alteration a secret to every body.

No. 43.

About Nov. 15, 1771.

If you can find the date of the Duke of Bedford's flogging, insert it in the note³. I think it was soon after the Westminster election.—The *Philos* are not to be placed as notes, except where I mention it particularly. I have no doubt of what you say about David Garrick—so drop the note. The truth is, that in order to curry favour, he made himself a greater rascal than he was. Depend upon what I tell you;—the King understood that he had found out the secret by his own cunning and activity.—As it is important to deter him from meddling, I desire you will tell him that I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged, if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from JUNIUS would destroy him.

Let me know whether Mr. Wilkes will give you the extracts⁴.

I cannot proceed without answers to those seven queries.

Think no more of Junius Americanus⁵.—Let him reprint

¹ On the outside of this letter was written "private and particular."

² Certain paragraphs relating to the marriage of the late Duke of Cumberland, inserted in the Preliminary Essay, p. *23.

³ See note to Letter XXIII. of JUNIUS, *post*, p. 149.

⁴ Referred to in No. 41.

⁵ Junius Americanus was a frequent writer in the Public Advertiser during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771. His letters chiefly related, as his signature

his letters himself. He acts most dishonourably, in suffering JUNIUS to be so traduced; but this falsehood will all revert upon Horne. In the mean time, I laugh at him.

With submission I think it is not your interest to declare that I have done.

As to yourself, I really think you are in no danger. *You* are not the object, and punishing *you* (unless it answered the purpose of stopping the press) would be no gratification to the King. If undesignedly I should send you any thing you may think dangerous, judge for yourself, or take any opinion you think proper. You cannot offend or afflict me but by hazarding your own safety. They talk of farther informations, but they will always hold that language *in terrorem*.

Don't always use the same signal—any absurd Latin verse will answer the purpose¹.

Let me know about what time you may want more copy.

Upon reflection, I think it absolutely necessary to send that note to D. G². only say *practices* instead of *impertinent inquiries*. I think you have no measures to keep with a man who could betray a confidential letter, for so base a purpose as pleasing * * * * *. Tell me how long it may be before you want more copy.—I want rest most severely, and am going to find it in the country for a few days. Cumbriensis³ has taken greatly.

signature readily suggests, to the disputes of the cabinet with the American colonies; and, in the course of his strictures, he attributed to JUNIUS doctrines, in relation to their dependance on the legislature of Great Britain, which he had never avowed, nor even inclined to. At this time there was some idea of publishing them collectively. They were written by a Dr. Charles Lee, as may be seen by a reference to the private correspondence of JUNIUS and Mr. Wilkes.

¹ See Preliminary Essay, page *26.

² David Garrick. See No. 41.

³ See Miscell. Letters, No. cxi. Vol. II. p. 445. it was printed in the Public Advertiser, Nov. 13th, 1771, upon the marriage of the late Duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, the sister of Col. Luttrell.

No. 44.

Nov. 27, 1771.

THE postscript to Titus must be omitted¹.—I did never question your understanding. Far otherwise. The Latin word *simplex* conveys to me an amiable character, and never denotes folly. Though we may not be deficient in point of capacity, it is very possible that neither of us may be cunning enough for Mr. Garrick. But with a sound heart, be assured you are better gifted, even for worldly happiness, than if you had been cursed with the abilities of a Mansfield. After long experience of the world, I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy.

Your account of my letter to the Bill of Rights astonishes me. I always thought the misrepresentation had been the work of Mr. Horne². I will not trust myself with suspecting. The remedy is on my own hands, but, for Mr. Wilkes's honour, I wish it to come freely and honourably from himself. Publish nothing of mine until I have seen it. In the mean time be assured, that nothing can be more express, than my declaration against long parliaments.—Try Mr. Wilkes once more—speak for me in a most friendly but *firm* tone,—that I *will not* submit to be any longer aspersed.—Between ourselves let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with patriots.—I fear your friend Jerry Dyson will lose his Irish pension³. Say received.

¹ His postscript addressed to Titus was added to his letter to Sir Wm. Draper, of Feb. 18, 1769. It engaged to give Titus a severe castigation, for having written with some degree of acrimony on the same side as the Knight of the Bath. The engagement, however, was not fulfilled under his signature of JUNIUS, and hence the propriety of omitting the postscript in question in his own edition. See farther on this subject, note to JUNIUS, Letter iv. *post*, p. 53. in which Titus's letter is inserted.

² He here admits that he was mistaken in the conjecture that Horne had misrepresented the sentiments conveyed in his Letters to the Bill of Rights Society. Yet as he published the same opinion in his own edition, which is re-printed in Vol. II. p. 149. he must afterwards have had fresh grounds for re-accrediting it, while in the present letter he seems more than half to suspect Wilkes himself.

³ He feared with reason. Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. was one of the lords of the

In page 25, it should be *the* instead of *your*¹, this is a woeful mistake;—pray take care for the future—keep a page for errata.

David Garrick has literally forced me to break my resolution of writing no more².

No. 45.

Dec. 5, 1771.

THESE papers are all in their exact order. Take great care to keep them so. In a few days more I shall have sent you all the copy. You must then take care of it yourself, except that I must see proof sheets of the Dedication and Preface, and these, if at all, I must see before the end of next week. You shall have the extract to go into the second volume, it will be a short one. Scævola, I see, is determined to make me an enemy to Lord Camden³. If it be not wilful malice, I beg you will signify to him, that when I originally mentioned Lord Camden's declaration about the Corn Bill, it was without any view of discussing that doctrine, and only as an instance of a singular opinion maintained by a man of great learning and integrity. Such an instance was necessary to the plan of my letter. I think he has in effect injured the man whom he meant to defend.

the admiralty, and in Feb. 1770, resigned his seat in favour of our late lamented foreign minister Mr. Fox, upon an Irish pension of 1500*l.* per annum for his own life, and that of his three sons. The following is an account of the mode in which he lost it:

“In a committee of supply of the House of Commons of Ireland, Nov. 25, 1771, after a long debate the question was put, and, on a division, it was carried against the pension, by a majority of *one*, the numbers being for it 105, against it 106; on which the House immediately resolved, ‘That the pension granted to Jeremiah Dyson, Esq. and his three sons, is an unnecessary charge upon the establishment of Ireland, and ought not to be provided for.’ Ordered, ‘That the said pension be struck off the list of pensioners upon the establishment of Ireland.’”

¹ In the opening of the Letter of JUNIUS, No. III. it was originally printed in the genuine edition, “Your defence,” &c. In the present edition the correction has been duly adopted

² The letter alluded to is JUNIUS, No. LXVII.

³ For further particulars of this dispute, see Letters of JUNIUS, No. LX.

When you send the above-mentioned proof sheets, return my own copy with them.

No. 46.

Dec. 10, 1771.

THE inclosed completes all the materials that I can give you. I have done *my* part. Take care *you* do yours. There are still two letters wanting, which *I expect you will not fail* to insert in their places. One is from Philo-Junius to Scævola about Lord Camden, the other to a friend of the people about pressing¹. They must be in the course of October.—I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the Dedication and Preface may be correct. Look to it. If you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive your suffering it to be spoiled. I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish.

I should not trouble you or myself about that blockhead Scævola, but that his absurd fiction of *my* being Lord Camden's enemy has done harm.—Every fool can do mischief; therefore signify to him what I said.

Garrick has certainly betrayed himself, probably * * * * *, who makes it a rule to betray every body that confides in him. That new disgrace of Mansfield is true²:

¹ These two letters are numbered *Philo-Junius*, LX. and LXII.

² The allusion is to a cause which was tried at the Summer Assizes for the county of Surrey, in 1771, Meares and Shepley against Ansell, for a trespass, in which his Lordship was supposed to have given a very partial charge in favour of the Defendant, who hereby obtained a verdict. The Plaintiffs, however, on the Michaelmas Term following, moved the Court of Common Pleas for a new trial, on the ground of the misdirection of the judge. The judge was called upon for his report, which he could not make without sending to the Plaintiff's attorney for his affidavit of the transaction.—He made his report at last, to which he subjoined that he was perfectly satisfied with the verdict of the jury.—The Court of Common Pleas was clearly of opinion, that Lord Mansfield had acted contrary to every principle of evidence both in law and equity, in admitting Matthews and Hicox to give parol evidence, contrary to a clear explicit agreement in writing, which they had attested—and asserted that, if such a practice was to obtain, it would go a great way towards subverting the Statute of Frauds and Perjuries, and would be a most dangerous

what do you mean by affirming that the Dowager is better? I tell you that she suckles toads from morning till night¹. I think I have now done my duty to you, so farewell.

No. 47.

Dec. 17, 1770.

MAKE your mind easy about me, I believe you are an honest man, and I never am angry².—Say to-morrow “We are desired to inform Scævola, that his private note was received with the most profound indifference and contempt³.” I see his design. The Duke of Grafton has been long labour-

dangerous inlet to perjury, and a means of rendering men’s properties very precarious and insecure. The Court therefore set aside the verdict, and ordered a new trial; and it appeared to the Court to be so gross a misdirection, that it dispensed with the usual terms of payment of costs. Although Lord Mansfield, in his direction to the jury, represented the trespasses as small and insignificant, and the action as litigious, the Court of Common Pleas said the trespasses were obstinate, wilful, and malicious.

Mr. Rowlinson, the Plaintiff’s attorney, felt so dissatisfied with the conduct of Lord Mansfield upon the occasion, that in the same term a motion was made at his instigation, to have his name struck off the Rolls of the Court of King’s Bench, which was, after some expressions of astonishment, acquiesced in, when he was immediately admitted into the Common Pleas.

¹ He refers to the following paragraph in the Public Advertiser for December 6, 1771:—

“We have the pleasure to assure the public, from the most undoubted authority, that the repeated accounts of Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales being very ill, and her life in great danger, are entirely false, such reports being only calculated to promote the shameful spirit of gambling, by insurance on lives.” The Princess Dowager was at this time afflicted with a cancer, and died on the 8th of January in the following year.

² He had received a note from Mr. Woodfall, vindicating himself from any improper motive in his communication to Mr. Garrick, which has been already referred to.

³ The information to *Scævola* was duly communicated in the Public Advertiser: and the flippancy of this writer’s style, and the coquetry of his political attachments, fully merited the contempt here expressed for him. His first two or three letters were written as an apology for certain inconsiderate expressions which had fallen from Lord Camden, and were not deficient in merit. They were noticed by our author under the auxiliary signature

ing to detach Camden. This Scævola is the wretchedest of all fools, and dirty knave.

Upon no account, nor for any reason whatsoever are you to write to me, until I give you notice.

When the book is finished, let me have a sett bound in vellum, gilt, and lettered JUNIUS I. II. as handsomely as you can—the edges gilt—let the sheets be well dried before binding.—I must also have two setts in blue paper covers. This is all the fee I shall ever desire of you. I think you ought not to publish before the second week in January.

The London Packet is not worth our notice. I suspect Garrick, and I would have you hint so to him.

No. 48.

January 6, 1772.

I HAVE a thing to mention to you in great confidence. I expect your assistance, and rely upon your secrecy.

There is a long paper ready for publication, but which must not appear until the morning of the meeting of parliament, nor be announced in any shape whatsoever¹. Much depends upon its appearing unexpectedly. If you receive it on the 8th or 9th instant, can you in a day or two have it composed, and two proof sheets struck off and sent me; and can you keep the press standing ready for the Public Advertiser of the 21st, and can all this be done with such secrecy that none of your people shall know what is going

signature of *Philo-Junius*, in LETTERS of JUNIUS, No. LX. Oct. 15, 1771. *Scævola*, whoever he was, became conceited by the attention thus bestowed upon him; and, more especially, as some other correspondent of the Public Advertiser had erroneously ascribed his letters to Lord Camden himself. To prove, however, that he was not Lord Camden, he now, in the midst of his general admiration of his Lordship's political character, attacks him upon a variety of, what he ventures to denominate, *capital errors*, and that with, at least, as much violence as any of his Lordship's avowed adversaries of the day. In few words he became a perpetual, wearisome, and contemptible scribbler; and well deserved the chastisement here given him by JUNIUS.

¹ Letter to Lord Mansfield. JUNIUS, No. LXVIII.

forward, except the composer, and can you rely on *his* fidelity? Consider of it, and, if it be possible, say YES, in your paper to-morrow.

I think it will take four full columns at the least, but I undertake that it shall sell.—It is essential that I should have a proof sheet, and correct it myself.

Let me know if the books are ready that I may tell you what to do with them.

No. 49.

Saturday, January 11, 1772.

YOUR failing to send me the proofs, as you engaged to do, disappoints and distresses me extremely¹. It is not merely to correct the press (though even that is of consequence), but for another most *material purpose*². This will be entirely defeated, if you do not let me have the two proofs on Monday morning.

The paper itself, is, in *my* opinion, of the highest stile of JUNIUS, and cannot fail to sell.—My reason for not announcing it was that the party might have no time to concert his measures with the Ministry. But, upon reflection, I think it may answer better (in order to excite attention) to advertise it the day before, JUNIUS to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield to-morrow.

Quoting from memory, I have made a mistake about Blackstone, where I say *that he confines the power to the Court, and does not extend it to the Judges separately*. Those lines must be omitted.—The rest is right.—If you have any regard for me or for the cause, let nothing hinder your sending the proofs on Monday.

No. 50.

January 16, 1772.

I RETURN you the proof, with the errata, which you will be so good as to correct carefully. I have the greatest rea-

¹ Of JUNIUS, No. LXVIII. referred to in the preceding letter.

² He seems to allude to a promise, or expectation, of legal assistance from some friendly quarter.

son to be pleased with your care and attention, and wish it were in my power to render you some essential service.—Announce it on Monday.

No. 51.

(Private)

Saturday, Jan. 18, 1772.

THE gentleman¹ who transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night. For this reason, and because it could be no way material for me to see a paper on Saturday which is to appear on Monday, I resolved not to send for it.—Your hint of this morning, I suppose relates to this².—I am truly concerned to see that the publication of the book is so long delayed.—It ought to have appeared before the meeting of Parliament.—By no means would I have you insert this long letter, if it made more than the difference of two days in the publication. Believe me the delay is a real injury to the cause. The letter to M.³ may come into a new edition.

Mr. Wilkes seems not to know that Morris published that letter⁴.—I think you should set him right.

No. 52.

January 25, 1772.

HAVING nothing better to do, I propose to entertain myself and the public, with torturing that * * * * * Barrington⁵. He has just appointed a French broker his de-

¹ Of this gentleman nothing is known.

² “*Mutare necessarium est.*” Answer to correspondents, Jan. 18, 1772.

³ Letters of JUNIUS, No. LXVIII.

⁴ Mr. Robert Morris was a barrister, who took a very active part in the city disputes, and on the popular side, and was secretary to the Bill of Rights Society. For a further account of him, see note to Miscellaneous Letters, No. xciii. Vol. II. p. 411. He occasionally wrote in the P. A. The publication of the letter alluded to, Wilkes had attributed to a Mr. Cawdron. See Private Letter, No. 82.

⁵ Lord Barrington was at this time Secretary for the War Department. He had uniformly exhibited himself unfriendly to the popular cause, and when in the lower House, made the motion in 1769, for expelling Wilkes, which

puty, for no reason but his relation to Bradshaw¹. I hear from all quarters, that it is looked upon as a most impudent insult to the Army.—Be careful not to have it known to come from me. Such an insignificant creature is not worth the generous rage of JUNIUS. I am impatient for the book.

No. 53.

Monday, Feb. 3, 1772.

I CONFESS I do not see the use of the table of contents. I think it will be endless and answer no purpose;—An index of proper names and materials would in my opinion be sufficient.—You may safely defy the malice of Mr. Wheble². Whoever buys such a book will naturally prefer the Author's Edition, and I think it will always be a book for sale. I really am in no hurry about that sett. Purling, I hear, is to come in for Eastlow.—A sure proof of the connection between him and government³. I would have you open any thing that may be brought you for me (except from Mr. Wilkes)—and not forward it unless it be material.

That large roll contained a Pamphlet.

No. 54.

Monday, Feb. 10, 1772.

If you have any thing to communicate, you may send it to the original place for once N. E. C.—and mention any new place you think proper, West of Temple Bar. The delay of the book spoils every thing.

which was seconded by Rigby. The letter that accompanied this note is numbered cv. in the Miscellaneous Collection, and the signature of JUNIUS will be found to be exchanged for that of *Veteran*.

¹ Mr. Chamier, brother in law to Bradshaw, the Duke of Grafton's private Secretary. See some notice taken of him in No. LXXXIII. Vol. II. p. 380 of the Miscellaneous Letters—signature *Domitian*, date December 24, 1770.

² Wheble had already printed an imperfect edition of the Letters of JUNIUS.

³ John Purling, Esq. one of the directors of the East India Company, who took a very active part in their affairs, at that period.

No. 55.

Monday Night, Feb. 17, 1772.

SURELY you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you could protract the publication so long.—At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge's motion¹, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation.—At a certain point of time the appetite palls.—I fear you have already lost the season.—The book, I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it.—But I have done.

No. 56.

About Feb. 22, 1772.

I DO you the justice to believe that the delay has been unavoidable. The expedient you propose of printing the Dedication and Preface in the P. A. is unadvisable. The attention of the public would then be quite lost to the book itself. I think your rivals will be disappointed. Nobody will apply to *them* when they can be supplied at the fountain head. I hope you are too forward to have any room for that letter of Domitian², otherwise it is merely indifferent. The Latin I thought much superior to the English.—The intended bill, in consequence of the message, will be a most dangerous innovation in the internal policy of this country³. What an abandoned prostituted ideot is your Lord Mayor⁴. The shameful mismanagement which brought him into office, gave me the first and an unconquerable disgust.—All I can now say is make haste with the book.— C.

¹ In favour of triennial parliaments, as already noticed in a note to the Preliminary Dissertation.

² This letter, for the reason here stated, was not printed in the genuine edition.

³ The bill alluded to is the Royal Marriage Act.

⁴ In allusion to the partial and impolitic conduct of Mr. Nash, at this time Lord Mayor, upon the common questions of city politics brought before him, especially in refusing to call a common hall, agreeably to a request very generally signified to him for this purpose.

The appointment of this broker¹ I am told gives universal disgust. That * * * * *² would never have taken a step apparently so absurd, if there were not some wicked design in it more than we are aware of. At any rate the broker should be run down. That at least is due to his master.

No. 57.

Saturday, Feb. 29, 1772.

I AM very glad to see that the book will be out before Sawbridge's motion. There is no occasion for a mark of admiration at the end of the motto. But it is of no moment whatsoever. When you see Mr. W. pray return him my thanks for the trouble he has taken. I wish he had taken more³.—I should be glad to have a sett, sewed, left at the same place to-morrow evening. Let it be well sealed up.

C.

No. 58.

Tuesday, March 3, 1772.

YOUR letter was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it.—I was impatient to see the book, and think I had a right to that attention a little before the general publication⁴. When I desired to have two setts sewed and one bound in vellum, it was not from a principle of economy. I despise such little savings, and shall still be a purchaser.—If I was to buy as many setts as I want, it would be remarked.

Pray let the *two* setts be well parcelled up and left at the bar of Munday's Coffee-house, Maiden Lane, with the same direction, and with orders to be delivered to a chairman who will ask for them in the course of to-morrow evening. Farewell.

¹ Chamier.² Lord Barrington.³ Mr. Wilkes, at the request of JUNIUS, perused and revised the Dedication and Preface to the genuine edition of the letters.⁴ The genuine edition of the letters was published on the third of March, 1772.

No. 59.

Thursday, March 5, 1772.

YOUR letters with the books are come safe to hand. The difficulty of corresponding arises from situation, and necessity to which we must submit. Be assured I will not give you more trouble than is unavoidable.—If the vellum books are not yet bound, I would wait for the index. If they are, let me know by a line in the P. A.—When they are ready, they may safely be left at the same place as last night.

On *your* account I was alarmed at the price of the book.—But of the sale of books I am no judge, and can only pray for your success.—What you say about the profits¹ is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that I am far above all pecuniary views, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it therefore, and let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence. Without it no man can be happy, nor even honest.—

If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me.

Quòd si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutatâ, aut debilitata virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat. Farewell.

In the Preface, p. 20, line 7, read unseasonable.

p. 26, — 18, — accuracy².

¹ Woodfall made JUNIUS an offer of half the profits of the book, or if he should decline accepting them for himself, to give a sum of money equal to that amount, to any charity which he should chuse to name.

² These errors are corrected in the present edition.

No. 60.

May 4, 1772.

IF *pars pro toto*¹ be meant for me, I must beg the favour of you to recall it. At present it would be difficult for me to receive it.—When the books are ready, a Latin verse will be sufficient.

No. 61.

Sunday, May 3, 1772.

I AM in no manner of hurry about the books. I hope the sale has answered.—I think it will always be a saleable book. The inclosed is fact, and I wish it could be printed to-morrow. It is not worth announcing. The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable. There must be some mystery in it which I hope will soon be discovered to his confusion.—Next to the Duke of Grafton, I verily believe that the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Barrington².

No. 62.

May 10, 1772.

PRAY let this be announced, *Memoirs of Lord Barrington in our next*³. Keep the author a secret.

No. 63.

January 19, 1773.

I HAVE seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured that I have had good reason

¹ A line in the Printer's notice to correspondents, introduced as in signal that a letter, or parcel, was in waiting for him at the usual place.

² This note accompanied the letter signed *Scotus*, addressed to his Lordship, and was printed as requested. See Miscellaneous Letters, No. cxi. The Autograph is still in the hands of the proprietor of this edition.

³ The annunciation under this title, appeared in the notice to correspondents, Public Advertiser, May 11, and the Memoirs were printed in a letter bearing the signature of *Nemesis*, May 12. See Miscellaneous Letters, No. cxiii.

for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle, that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible.

You have never flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.

If you have any thing to communicate (of moment to yourself) you may use the last address, and give a hint¹.

No. 64.

SIR,

I HAVE troubled you with the perusal of two letters, as that of the prior date accounts for the delay of not sending the books sooner; and this acquaints you that I did not get them out of the bookbinder's hands till yesterday; nor though I desired them to be finished in the most elegant manner possible, are they done so well as I wished. But, Sir, if the manner of the contents and index are not agreeable to you, they shall be done over again according to any directions you shall please to favour me with.—With respect to City politics, I fear the breach is too wide ever to be again closed, and even my friend Mr. Wilkes lost some of his wonted coolness at the late election on Sawbridge, Oliver, &c. scratching against him². I hope you will believe that however agreeable to me it must be to be honoured with your correspondence, I should never entertain the most distant

¹ This letter was thus noticed in the answer to correspondents in the P. A. March 8, 1773. "The letter from AN OLD FRIEND and CORRESPONDENT, dated Jan 19, came safe to hand, and his directions are strictly followed. *Quod si quis existimat, aut, &c.*"

² Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Townshend were, after a sharp contest, returned to the court of Aldermen for them to make their election of one of these gentlemen to the mayoralty for the year 1772, when their choice fell upon Mr. Alderman Townshend, in consequence of Sawbridge and Oliver scratching

wish that one ray of your splendour should be diminished by your continuing to write.—Mr. Wilkes indeed mentioned to me the other day that he thought the East India Company a proper subject; and asked if I could communicate any thing to you, to which my reply was that I could not tell, (as I did not know whether you might chuse to be intruded upon.) You will perceive by the papers that two persons have forced themselves upon us, who, without a tythe of Mr. Wilkes's abilities, imagine the public will look up to them as their deliverers; but they are most egregiously mistaken, as every one who possesses a grain of common sense hold them in almost utter contempt. You will probably guess who I mean, and were I capable of drawing a parallel, I should borrow some part of it from Shakespeare's Iago and Roderigo.—Should it please the Almighty to spare your life till the next general election, and I should at that time exist, I shall hope you will deign to instruct me for whom I should give my vote, as my wish is to be represented by the most honest and able, and I know there cannot be any one who is so fit to judge as yourself. I have no connexions to warp me, nor am I acquainted with but one person who would speak to me on the subject, and that gentleman is, I believe, a true friend to the real good of his country; I mean Mr. Glover, the author of Leonidas. As I thought serjeant Glynn deserving of something more than the mere fees of his profession, for the pains he took upon my trial, I have made a purchase of a small freehold at Brentford by way of qualification, in order to convince him, if he should offer himself at the next election, whenever it should happen, that I hold his services in grateful remembrance. But I am since informed that it is not his intention, and that Lord Percy is to be joined with Sir W. B. Proctor,

scratching against Wilkes. The candidates for that office, with the number which they polled, were as under:

Mr. Alderman Wilkes	—	2301
Townshend	—	2278
Halifax	—	2126
Shakespeare	—	1912

who is to be supported by the Duke of Northumberland's interest.—I have heard much of a most trimming letter from Mr. Stewart to Lord Mansfield on the Douglas cause, but cannot possibly get a copy, which probably would be a good letter to print.—

If, Sir, you should not disapprove of the Contents and Index, I thought of advertising them in the manner of the enclosed form, if I have your permission so to do, but not otherwise.—May I beg the favour of a line in answer? Believe me, Sir, to be, with gratitude and respect,

Your much obliged

humble servant to command,

HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL.

Sunday, March 7, 1773.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JUNIUS AND MR. WILKES.



PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

JUNIUS AND MR. WILKES.

No. 65.

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

London, 21st August, 1771¹.

I PRESUME, Sir, you are satisfied that I mean you well, and that is not necessary to assure you that while you adhere to the resolution of depending only upon the public favour, (which, if you have half the understanding I attribute to you, you never can depart from) you may rely upon my utmost assistance. Whatever imaginary views may be ascribed to the author, it must always make part of JUNIUS's plan to support Mr. Wilkes while *he* makes common cause with the people. I would engage your favourable attention to what I am going to say to you; and I intreat you not to be too hasty in concluding, from the apparent tendency of this letter, to any possible interests or connexions of my own. It is a very common mistake in judgment, and a very dangerous one in conduct, first to look for nothing in the argument proposed to us, but the motive of the man who uses it, and then to measure the truth of his argument by the motive we

¹ On this letter is written in Mr. Wilkes's own hand, the following memorandum:

"August 21, 1771.

"Received on Wednesday noon by a chairman, who said he brought it from a gentleman whom he saw in Lancaster Court, in the Strand.

J. W."

have assigned to him. With regard to me, Sir, any refinement in this way would assuredly mislead you; and though I do not disclaim the idea of some personal views to future honour and advantage, (you would not believe me if I did) yet I can truly affirm, that neither are they little in themselves, nor can they by any possible conjecture be collected from my writings.

Mr. Horne, after doing much mischief, is now, I think, completely defeated and disarmed. The author of the late unhappy divisions in the city is removed.—Why should we suffer his works to live after him? In this view, I confess, I am vindictive, and would visit his sins upon his children. I would punish him in his offspring, by repairing the breaches he has made.—Convinced that I am speaking to a man who has spirit enough to act if his judgment be satisfied, I will not scruple to declare at once, that Mr. Sawbridge ought to be Lord Mayor, and that he ought to owe it to *your* first motion, and to the exertion of all your credit in the city.—I affirm, without a doubt, that political prudence, the benefit of the cause, your public reputation and personal interest, do all equally demand this conduct of you.—I do not deny that a stroke like this is above the level of vulgar policy, or that if you were a much less considerable man than you are, it would not suit you. But you will recollect, Sir, that the public opinion of you rises every day, and that you must enlarge your plan as you proceed, since you have every day a new acquisition of credit to maintain.—I offer you the sincere opinion of a man, who, perhaps, has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of all business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world.

Whatever language you in prudence assume to the public, you cannot but be sensible that the separation of those gentlemen who withdrew from the Bill of Rights was of considerable disservice to you. It required, in my opinion, your utmost dexterity and resolution, and not a little of your good fortune, to get the better of it. But are you now really upon the best ground on which Mr. Wilkes might

stand in the city? Will you say, that to separate Mr. Sawbridge from a connexion every way hostile to you, and to secure him against the insidious arts of Mr. Horne, and the fury of Mr. Townshend, (if it could be done without embarrassing your leading measures, and much more if it promoted them) would not give you a considerable personal gratification?—Will you say, that a public declaration of Mr. Sawbridge in your favour, and the appearance of your acting together, (I do not speak at present of a hearty coalition or confidence) would not contribute to give you a more secure, a more permanent, and without offence to any man, a more honourable hold upon the city than you have at present? What sensations do you conceive a union between you and Mr. Sawbridge would excite in the breast of Mr. Horne? Would it not amount to a decisive refutation of all the invidious arguments he has drawn from your being deserted by so many of the considerable figures of the party? The answer to these questions is too obvious to be mistaken. But you will say to yourself what you would not confess to JUNIUS.—‘ Mr. Sawbridge is a man of unquestionable probity, and the concurrence of his reputation would undoubtedly be of service to me; but he has not pliancy enough to yield to persuasion, and I, Wilkes, am determined not to suffer another to reap the harvest of my labours: that is, to take the lead of me in the city.’—Sir, I do not mean or expect that you should make such a sacrifice to any man. But besides difference in point of conduct between leading and going foremost, I answer your thoughts when I say, that although Mr. Sawbridge is not to be directed (and even this perhaps is not so literally and completely true as he himself imagines) on the other hand he does not mean to direct. His disposition, as you well know, is not fitted for that active management and intrigue which acquire an operating popularity, and direct the people by their passions. I attribute to you both the most honourable intentions for the public, but you travel different roads, and never can be rivals.—It is not that Mr. Sawbridge does not wish to be popular; but, if I am not greatly mistaken, his virtues have

not ostentation enough for the ordinary uses of party, and *that* they lead rather to the esteem of individuals than to popular opinion.—This I conceive is exactly the man you want—you cannot always support a ferment in the minds of men. There will necessarily be moments of languor and fatigue; and upon these occasions Mr. Sawbridge's reputed firmness and integrity may be a capital resource to you,—you have too much sagacity not to perceive how far this reasoning might be carried.

In the very outset, you reap a considerable advantage, either from his acceptance or refusal.—What a copious subject of ostentation!—what rich colours to the public! your zeal to restore tranquillity to the city.—The sacrifice of all personal recollections in favour of a man whose general character you esteem;—the public good preferred to every private or interested consideration, with a long *et cætera* to your own advantage.—Yet I do not mean to persuade you to so simple a part as that of contributing to gratify Mr. Sawbridge, without a reciprocal assurance from him, that upon fair and honourable occasions he will in return promote your advantage.—Your own judgment will easily suggest to you such terms of acknowledgment as may be binding upon him in point of gratitude, and not offensive to his delicacy.—I have not entered into the consideration of any objections drawn from the fertile field of provocation and resentment.—Common men are influenced by common motives;—but you, Sir, who pretend to lead the people, must act upon higher principles. To make our passions subservient to you, you must command your own. The man, who for any personal indulgence whatsoever, can sacrifice a great purpose to a little one, is not qualified for the management of great affairs.—

Let me suppose then that every material difficulty on your part is removed; and that, as far as you alone are concerned, you would be ready to adopt the plan I propose to you.

If you are a man of honour you will still have a powerful objection to oppose to me. Admitting the apparent advan-

tage to your own purposes, and to the cause you are engaged in, you will tell me 'that you are no longer at liberty to chuse;—that the desertion of those persons who once possessed a warm attachment to you, has reduced you to a situation in which you cannot do that which is absolutely best;—that Mr. Crosby has deserved every thing from *you* and from the city, and that you stand engaged to contribute your whole strength to continue him another year in the mayoralty.'—My reply to this very just objection is addressed rather to Mr. Crosby than to Mr. Wilkes. He ought at all events to be satisfied; and if I cannot bring him over to my opinion, there is an end of the argument; for I do agree with you most heartily, that it is as gross a breach of policy as of morals, to sacrifice the man who has deserved well of us to any temporary benefit whatsoever. Far from meaning to separate you from Mr. Crosby, it is essential to the measure I recommend, that it should be your joint act. Nay, it is he who in the first instance should open the communication with Mr. Sawbridge; nor is it possible for you to gain any credit by the measure in which he will not of necessity be a considerable sharer. But now, for considerations which immediately affect Mr. Crosby.

Your plan, as I am informed, is to engage the livery to return him with Mr. Bridgen.—In my own opinion the court of aldermen will choose Bridgen, consequently the sacrifice I require of Mr. Crosby would in effect be nothing. That he will be defeated is to my judgment inevitable. It is for him to consider whether the idea of a defeat be not always attended with some loss of reputation. In that case too he will have forced upon the citizens (whom he professes to love and respect) a magistrate, upon whose odious and contemptible character he at present founds his only hopes of success.—Do you think that the city will not once in the course of a twelvemonth be sensible of the displeasure you have done them?—Or that it will not be placed in strong terms to your account. I appeal to Miss Wilkes, whose judgment I hear highly commended,—would she think herself much indebted to her favourite admirer, if he forced a

most disagreeable partner upon her for a long winter's night, because he could not dance with her himself?

You will now say;—‘Sir, we understand the politics of the city better than you do, and are well assured that Mr. Crosby will be chosen Lord Mayor;—otherwise we allow that upon your plan he might acquire credit without forfeiting any real advantage.’ Upon this ground I expect you, for I confess it is incumbent upon me to meet your argument, where it lies strongest against me.—Taking it for granted, then, that Mr. Crosby may be Lord Mayor, I affirm that it is not his interest, because it is not his greatest interest. The little profit of the salary cannot possibly be in contemplation with him.—I do not doubt that he would rather make it an expensive office to himself. His view must be directed then to the flattering distinction of succeeding to a second mayoralty, and, what is still more honourable, to the being thought worthy of it by his fellow-citizens.—Placing this advantage in its strongest light, I say that every purpose of distinction is as completely answered by his being known to have had the employment in his power (which may be well insisted upon in argument, and never can be disproved by the fact) as by his accepting it. To this I add the signal credit he will acquire with every honest man by renouncing, upon motives of the clearest and most disinterested public spirit, a personal honour, which you may fairly tell the world was unquestionably within his reach.—But these are trifles.—I assert that by now accepting the mayoralty (which he may take hereafter whenever he pleases) he precludes himself from soliciting, with any colour of decency, a real and solid reward from the city.—I mean that he should be returned for London in the next Parliament.—I think his conduct entitles him to it, and that he cannot fail of succeeding if he does not furnish his opponents with too just a pretence for saying that the city have already rewarded him. On the contrary with what force and truth may he tell his fellow-citizens at the next election, ‘for your sakes I relinquished the honour you intended me. The common good required it. But I did not mean to renounce my hopes that upon a pro-

per occasion you would honour me with a public mark of your approbation.'

You see I do not insist upon the good effects of Mr. Sawbridge's gratitude, yet I am sure it may be depended upon. I do not say that he is a man to go all lengths with Mr. Wilkes; but you may be assured that it is not danger that will not deter him, and that wherever you have the voice of the people with you, he will, upon principle, support their choice at the hazard of his life and fortune.

Now, Sir, supposing all objections are removed, and that you and Mr. Crosby are agreed, the question is in what manner is the business to be opened to Mr. Sawbridge. Upon this point too I shall offer you my opinion, because the plan of this letter would not otherwise be complete.—At the same time I do very unaffectedly submit myself to your judgment.

I would have my Lord Mayor begin by desiring a private interview between him, Mr. Crosby and yourself. Very little preface will be necessary. You have a man to deal with who is too honourable to take an unfair advantage of you. With such a man you gain every thing by frankness and candour, and hazard nothing by the confidence you repose in him.—Notwithstanding any passages in this letter I would shew him the whole of it; in a great business there is nothing so fatal as cunning management;—and I would tell him it contained the plan upon which Mr. Crosby and you were desirous to act, provided he would engage to concur in it *bona fide*, so far forth as he was concerned. There is one condition I own which appears to me a *sine qua non*; and yet I do not see how it can be proposed in terms unless his own good sense suggests the necessity of it to him.—I mean the total and absolute renunciation of Mr. Horne. It is very likely indeed that this gentleman may do the business for himself, either by laying aside the masque at once, or by abusing Mr. Sawbridge for accepting the mayoralty upon any terms whatsoever of accommodation with Mr. Wilkes.

This letter, Sir, is not intended for a correct or polished

composition; but it contains the very best of JUNIUS's understanding. Do not treat me so unworthily, or rather do not degrade yourself so much, as to suspect me of any interested view to Mr. Sawbridge's particular advantage. By all that's honourable I mean nothing but the cause; and I may defy your keenest penetration to assign a satisfactory reason why JUNIUS, whoever he be, should have a personal interest in giving the mayoralty to Mr. Sawbridge, rather than to Mr. Crosby.

I am heartily weary of writing, and shall reserve another subject, on which I mean to address you, for another opportunity.—I think that this letter, if you act upon it, should be a secret to every body but Mr. Sawbridge and my Lord Mayor.

JUNIUS*.

No. 66.

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ.

London, 7th Sept. 1771¹.

As this letter, Sir, has no relation to the subject of my last, the motives upon which you may have rejected one of my opinions, ought not to influence your judgment of ano-

* The plan recommended by JUNIUS in the above letter was not acted upon by Mr. Wilkes, for the reasons assigned by him in his letter of Sept. 12, 1771, (No. 67.) The consequence was, that Mr. Alderman Nash, the ministerial candidate, was elected Lord Mayor, to the infinite mortification of JUNIUS, who, in Private Letter, No. 56, makes the following observation upon him and his election. "What an abandoned, prostituted idiot is your Lord Mayor! The shameful mismanagement, which brought him into office, gave me the first, and an unconquerable disgust." The subjoined is a list of the candidates for that office, with the numbers affixed to their respective names as they stood at the close of the poll:—

For Mr. Alderman Nash	-	-	2199
Mr. Alderman Sawbridge	-	-	1879
The Lord Mayor	-	-	1795
Mr. Alderman Halifax	-	-	846
Mr. Alderman Townshend	-	-	151
Sir Henry Banks	-	-	36

¹ Marked by Mr. Wilkes, "Received in Prince's Court, Saturday, Sept. 7, 1771."

ther. I am not very sanguine in my expectations of persuading, nor do I think myself intitled to quarrel with any man, for not following my advice; yet this, I believe, is a species of injustice you have often experienced from your friends. From you, Sir, I expect in return, that you will not remember how unsuccessfully I have recommended one measure to your consideration, lest you should think yourself bound to assert your consistency, and, in the true spirit of persecution, to pass the same sentence indifferently upon all my opinions. Forgive this levity, and now to the business.

A man, who honestly engages in a public cause, must prepare himself for events which will at once demand his utmost patience, and rouse his warmest indignation. I feel myself, at this moment, in the very situation I describe; yet from the common enemy I expect nothing but hostilities against the people. It is the conduct of our friends that surprises and afflicts me. I cannot but resent the injury done to the common cause by the assembly at the London Tavern, nor can I conceal from you my own particular disappointment. They had it in their power to perform a real, effectual service to the nation; and we expected from them a proof, not only of their zeal, but of their judgment.—Whereas the measure they have adopted is so shamefully injudicious, with regard to its declared object, that, in my opinion, it will, and reasonably ought, to make their zeal very questionable with the people they mean to serve. When I see a measure excellent in itself, and not absolutely unattainable, either not made the principal object, or extravagantly loaded with conditions palpably absurd or impracticable, I cannot easily satisfy myself, that the man, who proposes it, is quite so sincere as he pretends to be. *You* at least, Mr. Wilkes, should have shewn more temper and prudence, and a better knowledge of mankind. No personal respects whatsoever should have persuaded you to concur in these ridiculous resolutions. But my own zeal, I perceive, betrays me: I will endeavour to keep a better guard upon my temper, and apply to your judgment in the most cautious and measured language.

I object, in the first place, to the bulk, and much more to the stile of your resolutions of the 23d of July*; though some part of the preamble is as pointed as I could wish. You talk of yourselves with too much authority and im-

* A copy of which is subjoined, to enable the reader the better to understand JUNIUS's objections to them. They are as follow:—

London Tavern, July 23, 1771.

SUPPORTERS OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

SAVAGE BARRELL, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Resolved,

THAT the preamble, with the articles reported this day from the committee, be printed and published from this society.

Whoever seriously considers the conduct of administration, both at home and abroad, can hardly entertain a doubt, that a plan is formed to subvert the constitution.

In the same manner, whoever attentively examines into the proceedings of the present House of Commons, must apprehend, that such another house for seven years, after the termination of the present parliament, would effectually accomplish the views of the Court, and leave no hope of redress but in an appeal to God.

The Middlesex election, taken on its true ground; the employment of the standing army, in St. George's Fields; the granting half a million, without inquiring into the expenditure of the civil list money, and upon the dangerous principle of considering the debts of the civil list as the debts of the nation; and encroaching, to discharge them, upon the sinking fund, the great support of public credit; the attempts made on juries, the last sacred bulwark of liberty and law; the arbitrary and venal hand with which government is conducted in Ireland; the new and most unconstitutional mode of raising a revenue on the people of America, without asking the consent of their representatives; the introduction of an universal excise in America, instead of the laws of customs; the advancing the military above the civil power, and employing troops to awe the legislature:—All these are measures of so marked, so mischievous a nature, that it is impossible they should be unfelt or misunderstood: yet these are measures which the House of Commons have acquiesced in, countenanced, or executed.

If the present House of Commons then have given such vital wounds to the constitution, who is it can doubt, who is it can hope, that the conduct of such another House, will not be mortal to our liberties?

The trustees of the people should be pure of all interested communication with the Court or its ministers; yet the corrupt correspondence between the members of the House and the Court is as notorious now as it is abhorrent from every great and good purpose of their institution. Placemen, pensioners, contractors and receivers of lottery tickets, abound

to

portance. By assuming this false pomp and air of consequence, you either give general disgust, or, what is infinitely more dangerous, you expose yourselves to be laughed at. The English are a fastidious people, and will not submit to

to such a degree in the House of Commons, that it is impossible a House so constituted can do their duty to the people.

It must be plain to the most common apprehension, that men deputed by the people, to watch over and guard their rights against the Crown and its ministers; and, for that purpose, vested with the transcendent powers of refusing aid to the one, and impeaching the other, can never duly exercise those powers, or fulfil the intention of their election, if they are kept in pay of that Crown and those ministers. What is the plain and inevitable consequence then of entrusting such men with the guardianship of our rights, but that our rights must be betrayed and violated? Thus we have seen a House of Commons infringing, as the Court had pre-ordained, the sacred birthright of the people in the freedom of election; erasing a judicial record; committing to the Tower, and threatening with impeachment, the friends of the people, and the defenders of the law; while the favourites of the Court are suffered to sport with the laws, and trample on the constitution, not only with impunity, but with approbation; curbing the people rigorously, and without feeling; while they uphold ministers, who are abhorred by the nation, in the most dangerous and alarming exertions of power; granting money with the most liberal, the most licentious hand to those ministers against whom the voice of the people calls loudly for impeachment. We have a suspecting people, and a confiding representative; a complaining people, and an exulting representative; a remonstrating people, and an addressing adulating representative,—a representative, that is an engine of oppression in the hand of the Crown, instead of being a grand controuling inquest in favour of the people. Such a representative is a monster in the constitution, which must fill every considerate man with grief, alarm, astonishment, and indignation.

It is corruption that has engendered, nursed, and nourished this monster. Against such corruption, then, all men, who value the preservation of their dearest rights, are called upon to unite. Let us remember, that we ourselves, our children, and our posterity, must be freemen or slaves; as we preserve or prostitute the noble birthright our ancestors bequeathed us: for should this corruption be once firmly rooted, we shall be an undone people.

Already is it fixed among the representative, and we taste, a thousand ways, the bitter fruit which it produces; should it extend equally to the electors, we must fall, as Greece and Rome have fallen, by the same means, from the same liberty and glory, to slavery, contempt, and wretchedness.

Impressed with these ideas, the gentlemen who compose the Society of the Bill of Rights, have determined to use their utmost endeavours to exterminate

be talked to in so high a tone, by a set of private gentlemen, of whom they know nothing, but that they call themselves *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*. There are questions, which, in good policy, you should never provoke the people in

exterminate this corruption, by providing for the freedom of election, the equal representation of the people, the integrity of the representative, and the redress of grievances. It is their great wish to render the House of Commons what it constitutionally ought to be, the temple of liberty. With these views they have drawn up the following articles, which they now submit to the electors of Great Britain. At the same time they, with great deference, take the liberty of recommending to the independent electors to form those articles into a solemn declaration, which the candidates, whom they support, shall be required as the indispensable condition of their being supported to sign and seal, publicly, at the general meeting, or at the place of election, binding themselves, by oath, to a due and sacred observance of what is therein contained.

The declaration so executed, may be deposited in the hands of the coroner, clerk of the peace, or magistrate before whom the oath was made, as a public memorial of what the constituent has demanded, and the representative has pledged himself to perform.

1. You shall consent to no supplies, without a previous redress of grievances.

2. You shall promote a law, subjecting each candidate to an oath, against having used bribery, or any other illegal means of compassing his election.

3. You shall promote, to the utmost of your power, a full and equal representation of the people in parliament.

4. You shall endeavour to restore annual parliaments.

5. You shall promote a pension and place-bill, enacting, That any member who receives a place, pension, contract, lottery ticket, or any other emolument whatsoever from the Crown, or enjoys profit from any such place, pension, &c. shall not only vacate his seat, but be absolutely ineligible during his continuance under such undue influence.

6. You shall impeach the ministers who advised the violating the right of the freeholders in the Middlesex election; and the military murders in St. George's Fields.

7. You shall make strict enquiry into the conduct of Judges touching Juries.

8. You shall make strict enquiry into the application of the public money.

9. You shall use your utmost endeavours to have the resolution of the House of Commons expunged, by which the magistrates of the city of London were arbitrarily imprisoned, for strictly adhering to their charter and their oaths; and also that resolution by which a judicial record was erased to stop the course of justice.

10. You

general to ask themselves. At the same time, Sir, I am far from meaning to undervalue the institution of this society. On the contrary, I think the plan was admirable; that it has already been of signal service to the public, and may be of much greater; and I do most earnestly wish, that you would consider of, and promote a plan for forming constitutional clubs all through the kingdom. A measure of this kind would alarm government more, and be of more essential service to the cause, than any thing that can be done relative to new-modelling the House of Commons. You see then, that my objections are directed to the particular measure, not to the general institution.

In the consideration of this measure, my first objection goes to the declared purpose of the resolutions, in the terms and mode in which you have described it, viz. *the extermination of corruption*. In my opinion, you grasp at the *impossible*, and *lose the really attainable*. Without plaguing you or myself with a logical argument upon a speculative question, I willingly appeal to your own candour and judgment. Can any man in his senses affirm, that, as things are now circumstanced in this country, it is possible to *exterminate corruption*? Do you seriously think it possible to carry through both houses such a place-bill as you describe in the fifth article; or, supposing it carried, that it would not be evaded? When you talk of contracts and lottery tickets, do you think that any human law can really prevent their being distributed and accepted, or do you only intend to mortify *Townshend* and *Harley*? In short, Sir, would you, *bona fide*, and as a man of honour, give it for your expectation and opinion, that there is a single county or borough in the

10. You shall attend to the grievances of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, and second the complaints they may bring to the throne.

11. You shall endeavour to restore to America the essential right of taxation, by representatives of their own free election; repealing the acts passed in violation of that right, since the year 1763; and the universal excise, so notoriously incompatible with every principle of British liberty, which has been lately substituted, in the colonies, for the laws of customs.

SAVAGE BARRELL, Esq. Chairman.

kingdom, that will form the declaration recommended to them in these resolutions, and enforce it upon the candidates? For myself, I will tell you freely, not what I *think*, but what I *know*; the resolutions are either totally neglected in the country, or, if read, are laughed at, and by people who mean as well to the cause as any of us.

With regard to the articles taken separately, I own I am concerned to see that the great condition, which ought to be the *sine qua non* of parliamentary qualification, which ought to be the basis, as it assuredly will be the only support, of every barrier raised in defence of the constitution; I mean a *declaration upon oath to shorten the duration of parliaments*, is reduced to the fourth rank in the esteem of the Society, and, even in that place, far from being insisted on with firmness and vehemence, seems to have been particularly slighted in the expression, *you shall endeavour to restore annual parliaments*. Are these the terms which men who are in earnest make use of, when the *salus reipublicæ* is at stake! I expected other language from Mr. Wilkes. Besides my objection in point of form, I disapprove highly of the meaning of the fourth article, as it stands:—Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and if I live will assuredly attempt it) to convince the English nation, by arguments, to *my* understanding unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a triennial, and banish the idea of an annual parliament.

Article 1. The terms of the first article would have been very proper a century or two ago, but they are not adapted to the present state of the constitution. The king does not act *directly* either in imposing or redressing *grievances*. We need not *now* bribe the crown to do us justice; and, as to the refusal of supplies, we might punish ourselves indeed, but it would be no way compulsory upon the King. With respect to his civil list, he is already independent, or might be so, if he has common sense, or common resolution: and as for refusing to vote the army or navy, I hope we shall never be mad enough to try an experiment every way so hazardous. But, in fact, the effort would be infinitely too great for the

occasion. All we want is an honest representative, or at least such a one as will have some respect for the constituent body. Formerly the House of Commons were compelled to *bargain* with the Sovereign. At present they may prescribe their own conditions. So much, in general, for grievances: as to particular grievances, almost all those we complain of are, apparently, the acts either of the Lords or the *Commons*. The appointment of unworthy ministers, is not strictly a grievance, (that is, a legal subject of complaint to the King) until those ministers are arraigned and convicted in due course of law. If, after that, the King should persist in keeping them in office, it would be a *grievance* in the strict, legal sense of the word, and would undoubtedly justify rebellion according to the forms, as well as the spirit of the constitution. I am far from condemning the late addresses to the throne. They ought to be incessantly repeated. The people, by the singular situation of their affairs, are compelled to do the duty of the House of Commons.

Article 2. I object to the second article, because I think that multiplying oaths is only multiplying perjury. Besides this, I am satisfied that, with a triennial parliament (and without it all other provisions are nugatory) Mr. Grenville's bill is, or may be made, a sufficient guard against any gross, or flagrant offences in this way.

Article 3. The terms of the third article are too loose and indefinite to make a distinct or serious impression. That the people are not equally and fully represented is unquestionable. But let us take care what we attempt. We may demolish the venerable fabric we intend to repair; and where is the strength and virtue to erect a better in its stead? I should not, for my own part, be so much moved at the corrupt and odious practices, by which inconsiderable men get into parliament; nor even at the want of a perfect representation, (and certainly nothing can be less reconcileable to the theory, than the present practice of the constitution) if means could be found to compel such men to do their duty (in essentials at least) when they *are* in parliament. Now, Sir, I am convinced that, if shortening the duration of

parliaments (which in effect is keeping the representative under the rod of the constituent) be not made the basis of our new parliamentary jurisprudence, other checks or improvements signify nothing. On the contrary, if this be made the foundation, other measures may come in aid, and, as auxiliaries, be of considerable advantage. Lord Chatham's project, for instance, of increasing the number of Knights of Shires, appears to me admirable, and the moment we have obtained a triennial parliament, it ought to be tried. As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons, yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions, in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution. There cannot be a doctrine more fatal to the liberty and property we are contending for, than that which confounds the idea of a *supreme* and an *arbitrary* legislature. I need not point out to you, the fatal purposes to which it has been, and may be applied. If we are sincere in the political creed we profess, there are many things which we ought to affirm, cannot be done by King, Lords, and Commons. Among these I reckon the disfranchising a borough with a general view to improvement. I consider it as equivalent to robbing the parties concerned, of their freehold, of their birthright. I say, that although this birthright may be forfeited, or the exercise of it suspended in particular cases, it cannot be taken away by a general law, for any real or pretended purpose of improving the constitution. I believe there is no power in this country to make such a law. Supposing the attempt made, I am persuaded you cannot mean that either King or Lords should take an active part in it. A bill, which only touches the representation of the people, must originate in the House of Commons, in the formation and mode of passing it. The

exclusive right of the Commons must be asserted as scrupulously as in the case of a Money Bill. Now, Sir, I should be glad to know by what kind of reasoning it can be proved, that there is a power vested in the representative to destroy his immediate constituent: from whence could he possibly derive it? A courtier, I know, will be ready enough to maintain the affirmative. The doctrine suits him exactly, because it gives an unlimited operation to the influence of the crown. But we, Mr. Wilkes, must hold a different language. It is no answer to me to say, that the bill, when it passes the House of Commons, is the act of the majority, and not of the representatives of the particular boroughs concerned. If the majority can disfranchise ten boroughs, why not twenty? Why not the whole kingdom? Why should not they make their own seats in parliament for life? When the Septennial Act passed, the legislature did what apparently and palpably they had no power to do; but they did more than people in general were aware of; they disfranchised the whole kingdom for four years. For argument's sake, I will now suppose, that the expediency of the measure, and the power of parliament, were unquestionable. Still you will find an insurmountable difficulty in the execution. When all your instruments of amputation are prepared—when the unhappy patient lies bound at your feet, without the possibility of resistance, by what infallible rule will you direct the operation? When you propose to cut away the rotten parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly sound? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop—at what point the mortification ends? To a man so capable of observation and reflection as you are, it is unnecessary to say all that might be said upon the subject. Besides that I approve highly of Lord Chatham's idea of “infusing a portion of new health into the constitution to enable it to bear its infirmities,” (a brilliant expression, and full of intrinsic wisdom,) other reasons concur in persuading me to adopt it. I have no objection to paying him such compliments as carry a condition with them, and either bind him firmly to the cause, or become the bitterest reproach to him

if he deserts it. Of this last I have not the most distant suspicion. There is another man, indeed, with whose conduct I am not so completely satisfied. Yet even *he*, I think, has not resolution enough to do any thing flagrantly impudent in the face of his country. At the same time that I think it good policy to pay those compliments to Lord Chatham, which, in truth, he has nobly deserved, I should be glad to mortify those contemptible creatures, who call themselves noblemen, whose worthless importance depends entirely upon their influence over boroughs, which cannot be safely diminished, but by increasing the power of the counties at large. Among these men, I cannot but distinguish the meanest of the human species, the whole race of the *Conways*. I have but one word to add,—I would not give representatives to those great trading towns, which have none at present. If the merchant and the manufacturer must be *really* represented, let them become freeholders by their industry, and let the representation of the county be increased. You will find the interruption of business in those towns, by the triennial riot and cabals of an election, too dear a price for the nugatory privilege of sending members to parliament.

The remaining articles will not require a long discussion;—of the fourth and fifth I have spoken already.

Article 6. The measures recommended in the sixth are unexceptionable. My only doubt is, how can an act *apparently* done by the House of Commons be fixed, by sufficient legal evidence, upon the Duke of Grafton or Lord North, of whose guilt I am nevertheless completely satisfied. As for Lord Weymouth and Lord Barrington, their own letters are a sufficient ground of impeachment.

Article 7. The seventh article is also very proper and necessary. The impeachment of Lord Mansfield, upon his own paper, is indispensable. Yet suffer me to guard you against the seducing idea of concurring in any vote, or encouraging any bill, which may pretend to ascertain, while in reality it limits, the constitutional power of juries. I would have their right, to return a general verdict in all cases whatsoever, considered as a part of the constitution, funda-

mental, sacred, and no more questionable by the legislature, than whether the government of the country shall be by King, Lords, and Commons. Upon this point, an Enacting Bill would be pernicious; a Declaratory Bill, to say the best of it, useless.

Article 8. I think the eighth article would be more properly expressed thus: *You shall grant no money, unless for services known to, and approved of, by Parliament.* In general the supplies are appropriated, and cannot easily be misapplied. The House of Commons are indeed too ready in granting large sums under the head of *extraordinaries incurred, and not provided for.* But the accounts lie before them;—it is their own fault if they do not examine them. The manner in which the late debt upon the civil list was pretended to be incurred, and really paid, demands a particular examination. Never was there a more impudent outrage offered to a patient people.

Article 9. The ninth is indispensable; but I think the matter of it rather fit for instruction than for the declaration you have in view. I am very apprehensive of clogging the declaration, and making it too long.

Articles 10 and 11. In the tenth and eleventh you are very civil to Ireland and America; and if you mean nothing but ostentation, it may possibly answer your purpose. Your care of Ireland is much to be commended. But, I think, in good policy, you may as well complete a reformation at home, before you attempt to carry your improvements to such a distance. Clearing the fountain is the best and shortest way to purify the stream. As to taxing the Americans by their own representatives, I confess I do not perfectly understand you. If you propose that, in the article of taxation, they should hereafter be left to the authority of their respective assemblies, I must own I think you had no business to revive a question which should, and probably would, have lain dormant for ever. If you mean that the Americans should be authorized to send their representatives to the British Parliament, I shall be contented with referring you to what

Mr. Burke has said upon this subject, and will not venture to add any thing of my own, for fear of discovering an offensive disregard of your opinion. Since the repeal of the Stamp Act, I know of no Acts tending to tax the Americans, except that which creates the tea duty; and even that can hardly be called *internal*. Yet it ought to be repealed, as an impolitic Act, not as an oppressive one. It preserves the contention between the mother country and the colonies, when every thing worth contending for is in reality given up. When this Act is repealed, I presume you will turn your thoughts to the postage of letters; a tax imposed by authority of parliament, and levied in the very heart of the colonies. I am not sufficiently informed upon the subject of that excise, which you say is substituted in North America to the laws of customs, to deliver such an opinion upon it as I would abide by. Yet I can easily comprehend, that admitting the necessity of raising a revenue for the support of government there, any other revenue laws, but those of excise, would be nugatory in such a country as America. I say this with great diffidence as to the point in question, and with a positive protest against any conclusion from America to Great Britain.

If these observations shall appear to deserve the attention of the Society, it is for *them* to consider what use may be made of them. I know how difficult and irksome it is to tread back the steps we have taken; yet, if any part of what I have submitted to you carries reason and conviction with it, I hope that no false shame will influence our friends at the London Tavern.

I do not deny that I expect my opinions upon these points should have some degree of weight with you. I have served Mr. Wilkes, and am still capable of serving him. I have faithfully served the public, without the possibility of a personal advantage. As JUNIUS, I can never expect to be rewarded.—The secret is too important to be committed to any great man's discretion. If views of interest or ambition could tempt me to betray my own secret, how could I flatter myself that the man I trusted would not act upon the

same principles, and sacrifice me at once to the King's curiosity and resentment? Speaking therefore as a disinterested man, I have a claim to your attention. Let my opinions be fairly examined.

JUNIUS.

P. S. As you will probably never hear from me again, I will not omit this opportunity of observing to you, that I am not properly supported in the newspapers. One would think that all the fools were of the other side of the question. As to myself it is of little moment. I can brush away the swarming insects whenever I think proper. But it is bad policy to let it appear, in any instance, that we have not numbers as well as justice of our side. I wish you would contrive that the receipt of this letter and my last, might be barely acknowledged by a hint in the Public Advertiser.

No. 67.

Prince's Court, Monday, Sept. 9, 1771:

MR. WILKES had the honour of receiving from the same gentleman two excellent letters on important subjects, one dated Aug. 21st, the other Sept. 7th. He begs the favour of the author to prescribe the mode of Mr. Wilkes's communicating his answer¹.

No. 68.

10 Sept. 1771.

You may intrust Woodfall with a letter for me. Leave the rest to his management.

I expect that you will not enter into any explanations with him whatsoever².

¹ This note was inserted in the Public Advertiser on the day following its date.

² Mr. Wilkes has written on it "Received by the Penny Post."

No. 69.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Sept. 12, 1771.

I DO not mean to indulge the impertinent curiosity of finding out the most important secret of our times, the author of JUNIUS. I will not attempt with profane hands to tear the sacred veil of the sanctuary; I am disposed with the inhabitants of Attica, to erect *an altar to the unknown god* of our political idolatry, and will be content to worship him in clouds and darkness.

This very circumstance, however, deeply embarrasses me. The first letter with which I was honoured by JUNIUS, called for a thousand anecdotes of Crosby, Sawbridge, and Townshend, too tedious, too minute, to throw upon paper, which yet must be acted upon, and as he well knows, mark the character of men. JUNIUS has in my idea too favourable sentiments of Sawbridge. I allow him honest, but think he has more mulishness than understanding, more understanding than candour. He is become the absolute dupe of Malagrida's gang. He has declared, that if he was chosen mayor this year, he would not serve the office, but fine, because Townshend ought to be mayor. Such a declaration is certain, and in my opinion it borders on insanity. To me Sawbridge complained the last year that his sheriffalty passed in a continual secret cabal of Beckford, Townshend and Horne, without the communication of any thing to him till the moment of execution. Sawbridge has openly acted against us. Our troops will not be brought at present to fight his battles. Mrs. Macauley has warmly espoused the common cause, and severely condemns her brother. Any overtures to Sawbridge, I believe, would have been rejected, perhaps treated with contempt, by not the best bred man in the island. How could I begin a negotiation when I was already pledged to Crosby, who has fed himself with the hope of that and the membership, by which I overcame his natural timidity? JUNIUS sees the confidence I place in him. Could there be

a prospect of any cordiality between Sawbridge and the popular party, at least so soon as his mayoralty? I should fear the Mansion House would be besieged, and taken by the banditti of the Shelburnes. But what I am sure will be decisive to JUNIUS, I was engaged to Crosby before I received the letter of Aug. 21, and I have not since found in him the least inclination to yield the favourite point. The membership of the city is a security to the public for his steadiness in the cause. Surely then it would have been imprudent to have wished a change. My duty to the people only makes me form a wish for Crosby. To make Crosby mayor, it is necessary to return to the court of aldermen another man so obnoxious that it is impossible for them to elect him. Bridgen I take to be this man. While he presided in the city he treated them with insolence, was exceedingly rude and scurrilous to them personally, starved them at the few entertainments he gave, and pocketed the city cash. As he has always voted on the popular side, we are justified to the livery in the recommendation of him, and the rest will be guessed. Crosby will probably be the *locum tenens* of Bridgen, if Bridgen is elected. I wrote the letter on this subject in the Public Advertiser of Sept. 5. The argument there is specious, although my private opinion is, the House of Commons will not again fall into that snare. Into another I am satisfied they will. The House of Lords too, will, I think, furnish a most interesting scene, in consequence of the powers they usurp, and the sheriff means the attack. I wish this great business, as I have projected it, could be unravelled in a letter or two to JUNIUS, but the detail is too long and intricate. How greatly is it to be lamented that the few real friends of the public have so little communication of counsels, so few and only distant means of a reserved intercourse!

I have no where met with more excellent and abundant political matter than in the letter of JUNIUS respecting the Bill of Rights. He ought to know from me, that the American Dr. Lee (the Gazetteer's Junius Americanus) was the author of the too long Preamble, Articles, &c. They were, indeed, submitted to me on the morning of the day on which

they passed, but I made few corrections. I disliked the extreme *verbiage* of every part, and wished the whole put again on the anvil. Sir Joseph Mawbey and I were of opinion to adjourn the business for a reconsideration, but the majority of the members were too impatient to have something go forth in their names to the public. It would have been highly imprudent in Sir Joseph or me to thwart them in so favourite a point, and the substance I indeed greatly approve. At all times I hate taking in other people's foul linen to wash. The Society of the Bill of Rights have been called my committee, and it has been said that they were governed entirely by me. This has spread a jealousy even among my friends. I was therefore necessitated to act the most cautious and prudent part. You cannot always do all the good you wish, and you are sometimes reduced to the necessity of yielding in a particular moment to conciliate the doubtful, the peevish, or the refractory. JUNIUS may be assured that I will warmly recommend the formation of constitutional clubs in several parts of the kingdom. I am satisfied that nothing would more alarm the ministry. I agree that the shortening the duration of parliaments is the first and most important of all considerations, without which all the rest would be nugatory; but I am unhappy to differ with JUNIUS in so essential a point as that of triennial parliaments. They are inadequate to the cure of destroying dependence in the members on the crown. They only lessen, not root out, corruption, and only reduce the purchase money for an annuity of three instead of seven years. I have a thousand arguments against triennial and in favour of annual parliaments. The question was fairly agitated at the London Tavern, and several of your friends owned that they were convinced. The subject is too copious for a letter. I hope to read JUNIUS's mature and deliberate thoughts on this subject. I own that in the House of Commons sound policy would rather favour triennial parliaments as the necessary road to annual, but the constitutional question is different.

I am sorry likewise to differ with JUNIUS as to the power *de iure* of the legislature to disfranchise any boroughs. How

originated the right, and why was it granted? Old Sarum and Gatton, for instance, were populous places, when the right of representation was first given them. They are now desolate, and therefore in every thing should return to their former state. A barren mountain or a single farm-house can have no representation in parliament. I exceedingly approve Lord Chatham's idea of increasing the number of Knights of Shires. If parliaments are not annual, I should not disapprove of a third part of the legislative body going out every year by ballot, and of consequence an annual re-election in part.

I am so much harassed with business at present, that I have not time to mention many particulars of importance, and these three days I have had the shivering fits of a slow lurking fever, a strange disorder for Wilkes, which makes writing painful to me. I could plunge the patriot dagger in the heart of the tyrant of my country, but my hand would now tremble in doing it. In general I enjoy settled confirmed health, to which I have for some years paid great attention, chiefly from public views.

I am satisfied that JUNIUS now means me well, and I wish to merit more than his regard, his friendship. He has poured balm into my wounds, the deepest of which I sigh, when I recollect, were made by that now friendly hand. I am always ready to kiss his rod, but I hope its destination is changed, and that it will never again fall as heavy upon me as towards the conclusion of the year 1769, when Thurlow said sneeringly, the government prosecuted JUNIUS out of compliment to Wilkes. I warmly wish JUNIUS my friend. As a public man I think myself secure of his support, for I will only depend on popular favour, and pursue only the true constitutional points of liberty. As a private person I figure to myself that JUNIUS is as amiable in the private as he is great in the public walk of life. I now live very much at home, happy in the elegant society of a sensible daughter, whom JUNIUS has noticed in the most obliging manner.

I have not had a moment's conversation with Woodfall on the subject of our correspondence, nor did I mean to

mention it to him. All he can guess, will be from the following card, which I shall send by my servant with this letter. "Mr. Wilkes presents his compliments to Mr. Woodfall, and desires him to direct and forward the enclosed to JUNIUS." After the first letter of JUNIUS to me, I did not go to Woodfall to pry into a secret I had no right to know. The letter itself bore the stamp of Jove. I was neither doubting nor impertinent. I wish to comply with every direction of JUNIUS, to profit by his hints, and to have the permission of writing to him on any important occasion. I desire to assure him, that in all great public concerns, I am perfectly free from every personality either of dislike or affection. The Stoic apathy is then really mine.

Lord Chatham said to me ten years ago, "***** is the falsest hypocrite in Europe." I must hate the man as much as even JUNIUS can, for through this whole reign almost it has been ***** *versus Wilkes*. This conduct will probably make it *Wilkes versus* *****. JUNIUS must imagine that no man in the island feels what he writes on that occasion more than I do.

This letter is an emanation of the heart, not an effort of the head. It claims attention from the honest zeal and sincerity of the writer, whose affection for his country will end only with his life.

JOHN WILKES.

No. 70.

TO JOHN WILKES, ESQ¹.

SIR,

London, 18th September, 1771.

YOUR letter of the 12th instant was carefully conveyed to me. I am much flattered, as you politely intended I should be, with the worship you are pleased to pay to the Unknown God of politics. I find I am treated as other Gods usually are by their votaries, with sacrifice and ceremony in abundance, and very little obedience. The profession of your

¹ Written on by him, "Received Monday afternoon, September 18, 1771."

faith is unexceptionable; but I am a modest deity, and should be full as well satisfied with good works and morality.

There is a rule in business that would save much time if it were generally adopted. *A question once decided is no longer a subject of argument.* You have taken your resolution about the mayoralty. What I have now to say is not meant to alter it, but, in perfect good humour, to guard you against some inconveniences, which may attend the execution. It is your own affair, and though I still think you have chosen injudiciously, both for yourself and for the public, I have no right to find fault or to tease you with reflections, which cannot divert you from your purpose.

I cannot comprehend the reason of Mr. Crosby's eagerness to be Lord Mayor, unless he proposes to disgrace the office and himself by pocketing the salary. In that case he will create a disgust among the citizens, of which you and your party will feel the bad effects, and as for himself he may bid adieu to all hopes of being returned for the city. That he should live with unusual splendour is essentially your interest and his own; and even then I do not perceive that his merits are so distinguished as to intitle him to a double reward. Of the dignity or authority of a *Locum tenens*, I know nothing; nor can I conceive what credit Mr. Crosby is likely to derive from representing Mr. Bridgen. But suppose Bridgen should be lord mayor, and should keep his word in appointing Crosby his lieutenant, I should be glad to know, who is to support the expense and dignity of the office? It may suit such a fellow as Bridgen to shut up the Mansion-house, but I promise you his economy will be of no service to Mr. Wilkes. If you make him mayor, you will be made answerable for his conduct; and if he and Crosby be returned, you may depend upon it the court of aldermen will choose him.

With regard to Mr. Sawbridge, since I cannot prevail with you to lay the foundation of a closer union between you, by any positive sacrifice in his favour, at least let me entreat you to observe a moderate and guarded conduct

towards him. I should be much concerned to see his character traduced, or his person insulted. He is *not* a dupe to any set of men whatsoever, nor do I think he has taken any violent or decided part against you.—Yet to be excluded from those honours which are the only rewards he pretends to, and to which he is so justly entitled, and to see them bestowed upon such men as *Crosby* and *Bridgen*, is enough to excite and justify his resentment. All this, Sir, is matter of convenience, which I hope you will consider. There is another point, upon which I must be much more serious and earnest with you. You seem to have no anxiety or apprehension but lest the friends of Lord Shelburne should get possession of the Mansion-house. In my opinion they have no chance of success whatsoever. The real danger is from the interest of government; from Harley, and the Tories.—If while you are employed in counteracting Mr. Townshend, a ministerial alderman should be returned, you will have ruined the cause.—You will have ruined yourself, and for ever. To say that JUNIUS could never forgive you is nothing¹;—you could never forgive yourself.—JUNIUS from that moment will be compelled to consider you as a man who has sacrificed the public to views which were every way unworthy of you. If then, upon a fair canvass of the livery, you should see a probability that Bridgen may not be returned, let that point be given up at once, and let *Sawbridge* be returned with *Crosby*;—a more likely way in *my* judgment to make *Crosby* lord mayor.

Nothing can do you greater honour, nor be of greater benefit to the community, than your intended attack upon the unconstitutional powers assumed by the House of Lords. You have my warmest applause; and if I can assist, command my assistance. The arbitrary power of fine and imprisonment, assumed by these men, would be a disgrace to any form of legal government not purely *aristocratical*.—Directly, it invades the laws, indirectly, it saps the constitution. Naturally phlegmatic, these questions warm me.—I envy you the

¹ See note to Private Letters, No. 56, ante p. *156.

laurels you will acquire.—Banish the thought that JUNIUS can make a dishonourable or an imprudent use of the confidence you repose in him. When you have leisure, communicate your plan to me, that I may have time to examine it, and to consider what part I can act with the greatest advantage to the cause. The constitutional argument is obvious. I wish you to point out to me where you think the force of the *formal legal* argument lies. In pursuing such inquiries I lie under a singular disadvantage. Not venturing to consult those who are qualified to inform me, I am forced to collect every thing from books or common conversation. The pains I took with that paper upon privilege, were greater than I can express to you. Yet after I had blinded myself with poring over journals, debates, and parliamentary history, I was at last obliged to hazard a bold assertion, which I am now convinced is true (as I really then thought it), because it has not been disproved or disputed.—There is this material difference upon the face of the two questions. We can clearly shew a time when the lower house had not an unlimited power of commitment for breach of privilege. Whereas I fear we shall not have the same advantage over the House of Lords. It is not that precedents have any weight with me in opposition to principles; but I know they weigh with the multitude.

My opinion of the several articles of the proposed declaration remains unaltered. I cannot pretend to answer those arguments in favour of annual parliaments, by which you say the friends of JUNIUS were convinced. The question is not what is best in theory (for there I should undoubtedly agree with you), but what is most expedient in practice. You labour to carry the constitution to a point of perfection which it can never reach to, or at which it cannot long be stationary. In this idea I think I see the mistake of a speculative man, who is either not conversant with the world, or not sufficiently persuaded of the necessity of taking things *as they are*. The objection drawn from the purchase of an annuity for *three* years instead of *seven*, is defective, because it applies in the same proportion to an

annuity for one year. This is not the question. The point is to keep the representative as much under the check and controul of the constituent, as can be done, consistently with other great and essential objects. But without entering farther into the debate, I would advise, that this part of the declaration be expressed in general terms; viz. to shorten the duration of parliaments. This mediating expedient will, for the present, take in both opinions, and leave open the *quantum* of time to a future discussion.

In answer to a general argument, by which the uncontrollable right of the people to form the third part of the legislature is defended, you urge against me two gross cases, which undoubtedly call for correction. These cases, you may believe, did not escape me, and by the bye, admit of a particular answer. But it is not treating me fairly to oppose general principles with particular abuses. It is not in human policy to form an institution from which no possible inconvenience shall arise. I did not pretend to deliver a doctrine, to which there could be no possible objection. We are to choose between better and worse. Let us come fairly to the point.—Whether is it safer to deny the legislature a power of disfranchising all the electors of a borough; (which, if denied, entails a number of rotten boroughs upon the constitution)—or to *admit* the power, and so leave it with the legislature to disfranchise *ad arbitrium* every borough and county in the kingdom. If you deny the consequence, it will be incumbent upon you to prove by *positive* reasoning that a power which holds in the case of Aylesbury or New Shoreham, *does not* hold in the case of York, London, or Middlesex. To this question I desire a direct answer; and when we have fixed our principles we may regularly descend to the detail. The case of Gatton and Old Sarum do not embarrass me. Their right to return members to parliament has neither fact nor theory to support it.—“They have, *bona fide*, no electors.” Consequently there is no man to be dispossessed of his freehold. No man to be disfranchised of his right of election. At the worst, supposing the annihilation of these pretended boroughs could no way be

reconciled to my own principles, I shall only say, give me a healthy, vigorous constitution, and I shall hardly consult my looking-glass to discover a blemish upon my skin.

You ask me, from whence did the right originate, and for what purpose was it granted? I do not see the tendency of these questions, but I answer them without scruple: 'In general it arose from the King's writs, and it was granted with a view to balance the power of the nobility, and to obtain aids from the people.'—But without looking back to an obscure antiquity, from which no certain information can be collected, you will find that the laws of England have much greater regard to possession (of a certain length) than to any other title whatsoever; and that in every kind of property which savours of the *reality* this doctrine is most wisely the basis of our English jurisprudence. Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer.—I had as lief be a Scotchman.—It is the encouragement given to disputes about titles, which has supported that iniquitous profession at the expense of the community.—As to this whole argument about rotten boroughs, if I seem zealous in supporting my opinion, it is not from a conception that the constitution cannot possibly be relieved from them—I mean only to reconcile you to an evil which cannot safely be removed.

Now, Mr. Wilkes, I shall deal very plainly with you. The subject of my first letter was private and personal, and I am content it should be forgotten. Your letter to *me* is also sacred. But my second letter is of public import, and must not be suppressed. I did not mean that it should be buried in Prince's Court. It would be unfair to embarrass you with a new question, while your city election is depending. But if I perceive that within a reasonable time after that business is concluded, no steps are taken with the Bill of Rights to form a new, short, and rational declaration (whether by laying my letter before the society, or by any other mode that you shall think adviseable), I shall hold myself obliged, by a duty paramount to all other considerations, to institute an amicable suit against the society before the tribunal of the

public. Without asperity, without petulance or disrespect, I propose to publish the second letter, and to answer or submit to argument. The necessity of taking this step will indeed give me pain, for I well know that differences between the advocates are of no service to the cause. But the lives of the best of us are spent in choosing between evils.—As to you, Sir, you may as well take the trouble of directing that society, since whatever they do is placed to your account.

The domestic society you speak of is much to be envied. I fancy I should like it still better than you do. I too am no enemy to good fellowship, and have often cursed that canting parson for wishing to deny you your claret. It is for *him*, and men like *him*, to beware of intoxication. Though I do not place the little pleasures of life in competition with the glorious business of instructing and directing the people, yet I see no reason why a wise man may not unite the public virtues of Cato, with the indulgence of Epicurus.

Continue careful of your health. Your head is too useful to be spared, and your hand may be wanted. Think no more of what is past. You did not then stand so well in my opinion; and it was necessary to the plan of that letter to rate you lower than you deserved. The wound is curable, and the scar shall be no disgrace to you.

I willingly accept of as much of your friendship as you can impart, to a man whom you will assuredly never know. Besides every personal consideration, if I were known, I could no longer be an useful servant to the public. At present there is something oracular in the delivery of my opinions. I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate, and darkness, we are told, is one source of the sublime.—The mystery of JUNIUS increases his importance.

JUNIUS.

No. 71.

Prince's Court, Thursday, Sept. 19.

MR. WILKES thanks Mr. Woodfall for the care of the former letter, and desires him to transmit the inclosed to JUNIUS.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Sept. 19, 1771.

I HAD last night the honour of your letter of yesterday's date. I am just going to the Common Hall, but first take up the pen to thank you for the kindness you express to me, and to say that the Bill of Rights meet next Tuesday. I thought it necessary not to lose a moment in giving you this information, that whatever you judge proper may be submitted to that society as early as possible. JUNIUS may command me in every thing. When he says "my second letter is of public import, and must not be suppressed. I did not mean that it should be buried in Prince's Court,"—does he wish it should be communicated to the society, and in what manner? The beginning of the second letter refers to a first letter, and some other expressions may be improper for the knowledge of the society. I wait JUNIUS's directions. I beg his free sentiments on all occasions. I mean next week to state a variety of particulars for his consideration and in answer to his letter. I had now only a moment to mention a point of business and a feeling of gratitude.

JOHN WILKES.

 No. 72.

SIR,

21st September, 1771¹.

SINCE you are so obliging as to say, you will be guided by my opinion as to the manner of laying my sentiments before the Bill of Rights, I see no reason why the whole of the second letter may not be read there next Tuesday, except the postscript, which has no connection with the rest, and the word ridiculous, which may naturally give offence;—as I mean to persuade and soften, not irritate or offend. Let that word be expunged. The prefatory part you may leave or not as you think proper. You are not bound to satisfy any man's curiosity upon a *private* matter, and upon my silence you may, I believe, depend entirely. As to other passages

¹ Written on it by Mr. Wilkes, "Received Sept. 21, 1771."

I have no favour or affection, so let all go. It should be copied over in a better hand.

If any objections are raised, which are answered in my third letter, you will, I am sure, answer for me, so far forth, *ore tenus*.

JUNIUS.

By all means let it be copied.—This manuscript is for private use only.

No. 73.

SIR,

Monday.¹

WHEN I wrote to you on Saturday, it did not occur to me that your own advertisement had already informed the public of your receiving two letters; your omitting the preamble to the second letter would therefore be to no purpose.

In my opinion you should not wish to decline the appearance of being particularly addressed in that letter. It is calculated to give you dignity with the public. There is more in it than perhaps you are aware of. Depend upon it, the perpetual union of *Wilkes* and *mob* does you no service. Not but that I love and esteem the mob.—It is your interest to keep up dignity and gravity besides. I would not make myself cheap by walking the streets so much as you do. *Verbum sat*.

No. 74.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Wednesday, Sept. 25.

YESTERDAY I attended the meeting of the Society of the Bill of Rights, and laid before them the letter, which I had the honour of receiving from you on the 7th of September. The few lines of the preamble I omitted, the word *ridiculous*, according to your directions, and a very few more lines towards the conclusion. All the rest was a faithful transcript, the exact *tenor*². The season of the year occa-

¹ Written on it by Mr. Wilkes, "Received Sept. 23, 1771."

² When Mr. Wilkes was prosecuted in the year 1764, for publishing the
North

sioned the meeting to be ill attended, only eleven members were present. The following resolution passed unanimously: "That Mr. Wilkes be desired to transmit to JUNIUS the thanks of the Society for his letter, and to assure him, that it was received with all the respect due to his distinguished character and abilities." Soon after my fever obliged me to return home, and I have not heard of any thing further being done; but Mr. Lee told me he thought the letter capable of a full answer, which he meant on a future day, to submit to the Society, and would previously communicate to me. The letter is left in the hands Mr. Reynolds, who has the care of the other papers of the Society, with directions to permit every member to peruse, and even transcribe it, on the promise of non-publication. Some particular expressions appeared rather too harsh and grating to the ears of some of the members.

Surely, Sir, nothing in the advertisement I inserted in the Public Advertiser, could lead to the idea of the two letters I mentioned coming from JUNIUS. I intreat him to peruse once more, that guarded advertisement. I hope that Mr. Bull's, and my address of Saturday, was approved where I most desire it should be thought of favourably. I know it made our enemies wince in the most tender part.

I am too ill to-day to add more.

JOHN WILKES.

No. 75.

SIR,

16th October, 1771.

I CANNOT help expressing to you my thanks and approbation of your letter of this day¹. I think it proper, manly, and

North Briton, No. 45, Lord Mansfield issued an order for Mr. Wilkes's attorney or solicitor to attend at his house, on the morning previous to the trial, "to shew cause why the information in this cause should not be amended by striking out the word *PURPORT*, in the several places where it is mentioned in the said information, (except in the first place) and inserting, instead thereof, the word *TENOR*." The Chief Justice was accused of having suggested this alteration, and several objections were taken to it, which, in argument, were overruled by the Court.

¹ This was a long address from Mr. Wilkes to the livery of London, in his

to the purpose. In these altercations nothing can be more useful, than to preserve dignity and *sang froid—fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*, increases both the force and the severity. Your conduct to Mr. Sawbridge is every thing I could wish¹. Be assured, you will find it both honourable and judicious. Had it been adopted a little sooner, you might have returned him and Crosby, and taken the whole merit of it to yourself. If I am truly informed of Mr. S.'s behaviour on the hustings, I must confess it does not satisfy me. But perseverance, management, and determined good humour, will set every thing right, and, in the end, break the heart of Mr. Horne. Nothing can be more true than what you say about *great men*². They are indeed a worthless,

his own defence, from an attack which had been made upon him by Mr. Alderman Townshend. We shall extract such parts of it as are more particularly alluded to by JUNIUS in this letter.

¹ “Mr. Townshend asks, ‘Does he (Mr. Wilkes) allow one man in the court of aldermen to be worthy of your confidence, except himself and Mr. Crosby?’ Let me state the question about Mr. Sawbridge. Mr. Wilkes has declared under his hand, in all the public papers, ‘No man can honour Mr. Sawbridge more than I do, for *every public and private virtue*, which constitutes *a great and amiable character*.’ Was this praise cold or penurious? Was it not deserving a better return than it seems to have found? Is not such a character *worthy of your confidence*?” Mr. Wilkes’s letter of Oct. 15.

² “Mr. Morris told us at the Bill of Rights, that when he pressed Mr. Townshend about the affair of the printers, his answer was, that he did not find he should be supported by any *great man*, and otherwise it would be *imprudent*, therefore did not chuse to act in it. The *prudent* Mr. Townshend may wait the consent of *great men*. I will on a national call follow instantly the line of my duty, regardless of their applause or censure. Public spirit and virtue are seldom in the company of his Lordship or his Grace. [The case of the printers is detailed in note to Miscellaneous Letters, No. xcii. Vol. II. p. 403.]

* * * * *

“Has not, by the conduct of your Magistrates, a complete victory been gained over the usurped powers both of the Crown and the House of Commons? The two questions had been frequently agitated among the friends of liberty, even while I remained at the King’s Bench. When the city and the nation had clearly decided in favour of the cause, the *great men* followed, as they generally do, joined the public cry, and thronged to the Tower to pay their tardy tribute of praise to the persecuted patriots. The business had been completed without their assistance. In all such

cases

pitiful race. Chatham has gallantly thrown away the scabbard, and never flinched. From that moment I began to like him.

I see we do not agree about the strict right of pressing¹. If you are as sincere as I am, we shall not quarrel about a difference of opinion. I shall say a few words to-morrow on this subject, under the signature of Philo-Junius.—The letters under that name have been hastily drawn up, but the principles are tenable. I thought your letter about the military very proper and well drawn².

JUNIUS.

cases I am persuaded we shall find, that the people will be obliged to do their *own* business; but if it succeeds, they may be sure of the concurrence and applause of the *great*, and their even entering the most loathsome prisons or dungeons—on a short visit of parade.” Mr. Wilkes’s letter of Oct. 15.

¹ “As a good Englishman and citizen, I thanked my brethren Sawbridge and Oliver for having so nobly discharged their duty as aldermen in the business of Press Warrants, on which I expatiated as the most cruel species of General Warrants.” Id.

² Shortly previous to Messrs. Wilkes and Bull entering upon their office of Sheriffs of London, they addressed a short letter to the livery, containing a paragraph respecting the military, of which the following is a copy:—

“We have observed with the deepest concern, that a military force has, on several late occasions, been employed by an unprincipled administration, under the pretence of assisting the civil power in carrying the sentence of the laws into execution. The conduct of the present sheriffs, in the remarkable case of the two unhappy men who suffered in July, near Bethnal Green, was truly patriotic. We are determined to follow so meritorious an example, and as that melancholy part of our office will commence in a very few days, we take this opportunity of declaring, that as the constitution has entrusted us with the whole power of the county, we will not, during our sheriffalty, suffer any part of the army to interfere, or even to attend, as on many former occasions, on the pretence of aiding or assisting the civil magistrate. This resolution we declare to the public, and to administration, to prevent during our continuance in office, the sending of any detachments from the regular forces on such a service, and the possibility of all future alarming disputes. The civil power of this country we are sure is able to support itself and a good government. The magistrate, with the assistance of those in his jurisdiction, is by experience known to be strong enough to enforce all legal commands, without the aid of a standing army. Where that is not the case, a nation must sink into an ab-

No. 76.

SIR,

Oct. 17, 1771.

I AM not yet recovered, and to-day have been harassed with complaints against the greatest villains out of hell, the bailiffs; but so very polite and friendly a letter as JUNIUS's of yesterday demands my earliest and warmest acknowledgments. I only take up the pen to say that I think myself happy in his approbation, that a line of applause from him gives the same brisk circulation to my spirits, as a kiss from Chloe, and that I mean soon to communicate to him a project of importance.—I will skirmish with the great almost every day in some way or other. Does JUNIUS approve the following manœuvre, instead of going in a gingerbread chariot to yawn through a dull sermon at St. Paul's.

“Old Bailey, Oct 24th, 1771.

“Mr. Sheriff Wilkes presents his duty to the Lord Mayor, and asks his Lordship's leave to prefer the real service of his country to-morrow in the administration of justice here, to the vain parade on the anniversary of the accession of a prince, under whose inauspicious government an universal discontent prevails among the people, and who still leaves the most intolerable grievances of his subjects undressed.”—This card to be published at length. Will JUNIUS suggest any alteration or addition? It is a bold step.—The sessions will not be ended on the 25th, and it is the duty of the sheriff to attend. I will follow all your hints about Mr. Sawbridge.—I am sorry to differ so much from you, about Press Warrants. I own that I have warmly gone through

solute military government, and every thing valuable to the subject be at the mercy of the soldiery and their commander. We leave to our brave countrymen of the army the glory of conquering our foreign enemies. We pledge ourselves to the public for the faithful and exact discharge of our duty in every emergency without their assistance. We desire to save them a service we know they detest, and we take on ourselves the painful task of those displeasing scenes, which our office calls upon us to superintend. The laws of our country shall, in all instances during our sheriffalty, be solely enforced by the authority and vigour of the civil magistrate.”

that opposition upon the clear conviction that every argument alleged for the legality of the Press Warrant would do equally well for ship money. I believe JUNIUS as sincere as myself, I will therefore be so far from quarrelling with him for any difference of opinion, that when I find we disagree I will act with double caution, and some distrust of the certainty of my being clearly in the right.

I hope the Sheriff's letter to Mr. Akerman has your approbation. Does JUNIUS wish for any dinner or ball tickets for the lord mayor's day, for himself, or friends, or a favourite, or Junia? The day will be worth observation. Whether *cretá an carbone notandus*, I do not know; but *the people, Sir, the people are the sight*. How happy should I be to see my Portia here dance a graceful minuet with JUNIUS BRUTUS! but JUNIUS is inexorable and I submit. I would send your tickets to Woodfall.

To-morrow I go with the Lord Mayor and my brother sheriff to Rochester to take up our freedoms. We return on Sunday night.

I entreat of JUNIUS to favour me with every idea, which occurs to him for the common cause, in every particular relative to my conduct. He shall find me no less grateful than ductile.

JOHN WILKES.

No. 77.

London, 21 October, 1771.

MANY thanks for your obliging offer;—but alas! my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner.—I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia, but in truth I see no connexion between JUNIUS and a minuet.

You shall have my opinion whenever you think proper to ask it, freely, honestly, and heartily.—If I were only a party man I should naturally concur in any enterprize, likely to create a bustle without risque or trouble to myself. But I love the cause independent of persons, and I wish well to Mr. Wilkes independent of the cause. Feeling, as I really do, for others where my own safety is provided for, the dan-

“ Prince’s Court, 24 October, 1771.

“ Mr. Wilkes presents his duty to the Lord Mayor, and flatters himself he shall be honoured with his Lordship’s approbation, if he prefers the real service of his country to-morrow in the administration of justice at the Old Bailey, to the vain parade of a procession to St. Paul’s.—With the warmest attachment to the House of Hanover, and the most determined allegiance to the chief magistrate, he hopes it will not be thought incumbent on him to take an active part in celebrating the accession of a prince, under whose inauspicious reign the English constitution has been grossly and deliberately violated, the civil rights of the people no less daringly invaded, and their humble petitions for redress rejected with contempt.”—

In the first part, *to ask a man’s leave to prefer the real service of our country to a vain parade*, seems, if serious, too servile;—if jest, unseasonable, and rather approaching to burlesque.—The rest appears to me not less strong than your own words, and better guarded in point of safety, which you neglect too much.—I am now a little hurried, and shall write to you shortly upon some other topics.

JUNIUS.

No. 78.

Prince’s Court, Monday Morning, Nov. 4.

ON my return home last night I had the very great pleasure of reading the Dedication and Preface which Mr. Woodfall left for me. I am going with the city officers to invite the little great to the custard on Saturday. *Perditur hoc inter misero lux*. I shall only add, *accepi, legi, probavi*. I am much honoured by the polite attention of JUNIUS¹.

¹ Upon this letter was written by Mr. Wilkes, “ On returning JUNIUS, the Dedication and Preface he sent me.”

No. 79.

6 November, 1771.

I ENTREAT you to procure for me copies of the informations against Eyre before the Lord Mayor. I presume they were taken in writing. If not I beg you will favour me with the most exact account of the substance of them, and any observations of your own that you think material. If I am right in my facts, I answer for my law, and mean to attack Lord Mansfield as soon as possible.

My American namesake is plainly a man of abilities, though I think a little unreasonable, when he insists upon more than an absolute surrender of the fact. I agree with him that it is a hardship on the Americans to be taxed by the British legislature; but it is a hardship inseparable in theory from the condition of colonists, in which they have voluntarily placed themselves. If emigration be no crime to deserve punishment, it is certainly no virtue to claim exemption; and however it may have proved eventually beneficial, the mother country was but little obliged to the intentions of the first emigrants. But, in fact, change of place does not exempt from subjection:—the members of our factories settled under foreign governments, and whose voluntary banishment is much more laudable with regard to the mother country, are taxed with the laws of consulage. *Au reste*, I see no use in fighting this question in the news-papers, nor have I time. You may assure Dr. Lee, that to *my* heart and understanding the names of American and Englishman are synonymous, and that as to any future taxation of America, I look upon it as near to impossible as the highest improbability can go.

I hope that since he has opposed me where he thinks me wrong, he will be equally ready to assist me when he thinks me right. Besides the fallibility natural to us all, no man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned, I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers I never am assisted.

Those who are conversant with books, well know how often they mislead us, when we have not a living monitor at hand to assist us in comparing practice with theory.

No. 80.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Prince's Court, Wednesday, Nov. 6.

I do not delay a moment giving you the information you wish. I enclose a copy of Eyre's commitment. Nothing else in this business has been reduced to writing. The examination was before the sitting justice, Alderman Hallifax, at Guildhall; and it is not usual to take it in writing, on account of the multiplicity of business there. The paper was found upon him. He was asked what he had to say in his defence, his answer was, I hope you will bail me. Mr. Holder, the clerk, answered, that is impossible. There never was an instance of it, when the person was taken in the fact, or the goods found upon him. I believe Holder's law is right. Alderman Hallifax likewise granted a search warrant prior to the examination. At Eyre's lodgings many more quires of paper were found, all marked on purpose, from a suspicion of Eyre. After Eyre had been some time at Wood Street Compter, a key was found in his room there, which appears to be a key to the closet at Guildhall, from whence the paper was stolen. The Lord Mayor refused to bail Eyre, but I do not find that any fresh examination was taken at the Mansion-house. The circumstances were well known. I was present at the examination before Hallifax, but as sheriff could not interfere, only I whispered Hallifax he could not bail Eyre. *Anglus* in to-day's Public Advertiser told some particulars I had mentioned. I did not know of that letter; it is Mr. Bernard's of Berkeley Square. As to the Americans, I declare I know no difference between an inhabitant of Boston in Lincolnshire, and of Boston in New England. I honour the Americans; but our ancestors who staid and drove out the tyrant, are justly greater in merit and fame

than those who fled and deserted their countrymen. Their future conduct has been a noble atonement, and their sons have much surpassed them. I will mention to Dr. Lee what you desire. You shall have every communication you wish from me. Yet I beg JUNIUS to reflect a moment. To whom am I now writing? I am all doubt and uncertainty, though not mistrust or suspicion. I should be glad to canvass freely every part of a great plan. I dare not write it to a man I do not know, of whose connexions I am totally ignorant. I differ with JUNIUS in one point: I think by being concealed he has infinite advantages which I want. I am on the Indian coast, where, from the fire kindled round me, I am marked out to every hostile arrow which knows its way to me. Those who are in the dark are safe, from the want of direction of the pointless shaft. I followed JUNIUS's advice about the card on the anniversary of the King's accession. I dropped the idea. I wish to know his sentiments about certain projects against the usurped powers of the House of Lords. The business is too vast to write, too hazardous to communicate to an unknown person. JUNIUS will forgive me. What can be done?—"Alas!" where is the man after all Wilkes has experienced, in whose friendly bosom he can repose his secret thoughts, his noble but most dangerous designs? The person most capable he can have no access to, and all others he will not trust. I stand alone, *isolé* as the French call it, a single column unpropped, and perhaps nodding to its fall.

JOHN WILKES.

No. 81.

9 November, 1771.

I AM much obliged to you for your information about Eyre. The facts are as I understood them, and, with the blessing of God, I will pull Mansfield to the ground.

Your offer to communicate your plan against the Lords was voluntary. Do now as you think proper. I have no resentments but against the common enemy, and will assist you in any way that you will suffer yourself to be assisted. When

you have satisfied your understanding that there may be reasons why JUNIUS should attack the King, the minister, the court of King's Bench, and the House of Commons, in the way that I have done, and yet should desert or betray the man who attacks the House of Lords, I would still appeal to your heart. Or if you have any scruples about that kind of evidence, ask that amiable daughter whom you so implicitly confide in—*Is it possible that JUNIUS should betray me?* Do not conceive that I solicit new employment. I am overcome with the slavery of writing.

Farewell.

No. 82.

Prince's Court, near Storey's Gate, Westminster,
Wednesday, January 15, 1772.

TO JUNIUS.

A NECESSARY attention to my health engrossed my time entirely in the few holidays I spent at Bath, and I am rewarded with being perfectly recovered. The repairs of the clay cottage, to which I am tenant for life, seem to have taken place very successfully; and the building will probably last a few more years in tolerable condition.

Yesterday I met the Supporters of the Bill of Rights at the London Tavern. Much discourse passed about the publication of JUNIUS's letter. Dr. Lee and Mr. Watkin Lewes, who were both suspected, fully exculpated themselves. I believe the publication was owing to the indiscretion of Mr. Patrick Cawdron, a linendraper in Cheapside, who shewed it to his partner on the Saturday. The partner copied it on the Sunday, and the Monday following it appeared in the Morning Chronicle. The Gazetteer only copied it from thence. The Society directed a disavowal of their publication of it to be sent to you, and are to take the letter into consideration at the next meeting. I forgot to mention that Mr. Cawdron keeps the papers of the Society.

The winter campaign will begin with the next week. I believe that the sheriffs will have the old battle renewed with

the Commons, and I suppose the lord mayor and the courtly aldermen will commit the printer for us to release. Another scene will probably open with the Lords. JUNIUS has observed, "the arbitrary power they have assumed of imposing fines, and committing during pleasure, will now be exercised in its fullest extent." The progress of the business I suspect will be this—a bitter libel against Pomfret, Denbigh, or Talbot, attacking the peer personally, not in his legislative or judicial capacity, will appear. His Lordship, passion's slave, will complain to the House. They will order the printer into custody and set a heavy fine. The Sheriffs the next morning will go to Newgate, examine the warrant of commitment, and, like the angel to Peter, take the prisoner by the hand and conduct him out of prison; afterwards they will probably make their appeal to the public against the usurpation of their Lordships, and their entirely setting aside the power of juries in their proceedings.

Are there more furious wild beasts to be found in the upper den than the three I have named? Miller, the printer of the London Evening Post, at No. 2, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, is the best man I know for this business. He will print whatever is sent him. He is a fine Oliverian soldier. I intend a manifesto with my name on Monday to give spirit to the printers, and to shew them who will be their protector. I foresee it will make the two houses more cautious, but it is necessary for our friends, and the others shall be baited till they are driven into the snare. Adieu.

JOHN WILKES.

LETTERS
OF
JUNIUS.





DEDICATION

TO THE

ENGLISH NATION.

I DEDICATE to You a collection of Letters, written by one of Yourselves for the common benefit of us all. They would never have grown to this size, without Your continued encouragement and applause*. To me they originally owe nothing, but a healthy, sanguine constitution. Under *Your* care they have thriven. To *You* they are indebted for whatever strength or beauty they possess. When Kings and Ministers are forgotten, when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles, worthy to be transmitted to posterity. When You leave the unimpaired, hereditary freehold to Your children, You do but half Your duty. Both liberty and property are precarious, unless the possessors have sense and spirit enough to defend them.— This is not the language of vanity. If I am a vain man, my gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me†.



* See Private Letters, No. 5. in which the author, shortly after his appearance before the public under the signature of JUNIUS, expresses an intention to discontinue writing under that name; nor would he in all probability have persevered, but for the reason assigned above. EDIT.

† This must be understood only in general terms. From the following passage in Private Letters, No. 8. it is obvious that there were persons to

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A

whom

If an honest, and, I may truly affirm, a laborious zeal for the public service has given me any weight in Your esteem, let me exhort and conjure You never to suffer an invasion of Your political constitution, however minute the instance may appear, to pass by, without a determined, persevering resistance. One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate, and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine. Examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures, and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy.—Be assured that the laws, which protect us in our civil rights, grow out of the constitution, and that they must fall or flourish with it. This is not the cause of faction, or of party, or of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain. Although the King should continue to support his present system of government, the period is not very distant, at which You will have the means of redress in Your own power. It may be nearer perhaps than any of us expect, and I would warn You to be prepared for it. The King may possibly be advised to dissolve the present parliament a year or two before it expires of course, and precipitate a new election, in hopes of taking the nation by surprize. If such a measure be in agitation, this very caution may defeat or prevent it*.

I cannot doubt that You will unanimously assert the freedom of election, and vindicate Your exclusive right to choose

whom the writer unbosomed himself; although there is still every reason for believing that such persons formed, as he has expressed it above, only *a narrow circle*.—"The last letter you printed was idle and improper, and, I assure you, printed against my own opinion. The truth is there are people about me, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see JUNIUS in the papers, ever so improperly, than not at all." EDIT.

* The object to have been accomplished by obtaining a new parliament does not appear to have been of sufficient force to have precipitated such a measure; and was, in consequence, relinquished: on which account the parliament in question was not dissolved till September 30th, 1774, after having existed six years, four months, and twenty-one days. Many of the letters of JUNIUS turning upon the elective franchise, and the necessity of triennial parliaments, the reader may not be displeased to see, at one view, the respective dates of the dissolution and re-assembling of the several parliaments during the present reign.

DEDICATION.

3

Your representatives. But other questions have been started, on which Your determination should be equally clear and unanimous. Let it be impressed upon Your minds, let it be instilled into Your children, that the liberty of the press is the *Palladium* of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman, and that the right of juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our constitution, not to be controuled or limited by the judges, nor in any shape questionable by the legislature. The power of King, Lords, and Commons is not an arbitrary power*. They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee-simple is in US. They cannot alienate, they cannot waste. When we say that the legislature is *supreme*, we mean

Met.		Dissolved.		Existed.		
				Y.	M.	D.
26 Oct.	1760	20 March	1761	0	4	25
19 May	1761	11 March	1768	6	9	22
10 May	1768	30 Sept.	1774	6	4	21
29 Nov.	1774	1 Sept.	1780	5	9	4
31 Oct.	1780	25 March	1784	3	4	26
18 May	1784	11 June	1790	6	0	25
10 Aug.	1790	20 May	1796	5	11	3
12 July	1796	31 Dec.	1800†	5	11	18
UNITED KINGDOM, G. B. & I.						
22 Jan.	1801	29 June	1802			
31 Aug.	1802	24 Oct.	1806	4	2	25
15 Dec.	1806	29 April	1807	0	4	15
22 June	1807					

† Stat. 39.40 Geo. III. c. 67. Art. 4. ENIT.

* This positive denial, of an arbitrary power being vested in the legislature, is not in fact a new doctrine. When the Earl of Lindsey, in the year 1675, brought a bill into the house of lords, *To prevent the dangers, which might arise from persons disaffected to government*, by which an oath and penalty was to be imposed upon the members of both houses, it was affirmed, in a protest signed by twenty-three lay-peers, (my lords the bishops were not accustomed to protest) "That the privilege of sitting and voting in parliament was an honour they had by birth, and a right so inherent in them, and inseparable from them, that nothing could take it away, but what, by the law of the land, must withal take away their lives, and corrupt their blood."—These noble peers, (whose names are a reproach to their posterity) have, in this instance, solemnly denied the power of parliament to alter the constitution. Under a particular proposition, they have asserted a general truth, in which every man in England is concerned.

that it is the highest power known to the constitution:—that it is the highest in comparison with the other subordinate powers established by the laws. In this sense, the word *supreme* is relative, not absolute. The power of the legislature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural justice, and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit, that King, Lords, and Commons have no rule to direct their resolutions, but merely their own will and pleasure. They might unite the legislative and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the constitution by an act of parliament. But I am persuaded You will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons, notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves. The certainty of forfeiting their own rights, when they sacrifice those of the nation, is no check to a brutal degenerate mind. Without insisting upon the extravagant concession made to Harry the eighth, there are instances, in the history of other countries, of a formal, deliberate surrender of the public liberty into the hands of the sovereign. If England does not share the same fate, it is because we have better resources, than in the virtue of either house of parliament.

I said that the liberty of the press is the *palladium* of all Your rights, and that the right of juries to return a general verdict is part of Your constitution. To preserve the whole system, You must correct Your legislature. With regard to any influence of the constituent over the conduct of the representative, there is little difference between a seat in parliament for seven years and a seat for life. The prospect of Your resentment is too remote; and although the last session of a septennial parliament be usually employed in courting the favour of the people, consider that, at this rate, Your representatives have six years for offence, and but one for atonement. A death-bed repentance seldom reaches to restitution. If you reflect that in the changes of administration, which have marked and disgraced the present reign, although your warmest patriots have in their turn been invested with

the lawful and unlawful authority of the crown, and though other reliefs or improvements have been held forth to the people, yet that no one man in office has ever promoted or encouraged a bill for shortening the duration of parliaments, but that, (whoever was minister) the opposition to this measure, ever since the septennial act passed, has been constant and uniform on the part of government,—You cannot but conclude, without the possibility of a doubt, that long parliaments are the foundation of the undue influence of the crown. This influence answers every purpose of arbitrary power to the crown, with an expence and oppression to the people, which would be unnecessary in an arbitrary government. The best of our ministers find it the easiest and most compendious mode of conducting the King's affairs; and all ministers have a general interest in adhering to a system, which of itself is sufficient to support them in office, without any assistance from personal virtue, popularity, labour, abilities, or experience. It promises every gratification to avarice and ambition, and secures impunity.—These are truths unquestionable.—If they make no impression, it is because they are too vulgar and notorious. But the inattention or indifference of the nation has continued too long. You are roused at last to a sense of Your danger.—The remedy will soon be in your power. If JUNIUS lives, You shall often be reminded of it. If, when the opportunity presents itself, You neglect to do Your duty to Yourselves and to posterity,—to God and to Your country, I shall have one consolation left, in common with the meanest and basest of mankind.—Civil liberty may still last the life of

JUNIUS.



PREFACE.

THE encouragement given to a multitude of spurious, mangled publications of the letters of JUNIUS, persuades me, that a complete edition, corrected and improved by the author, will be favourably received. The printer will readily acquit me of any view to my own profit*. I undertake this troublesome task, merely to serve a man who has deserved well of me, and of the public; and who, on my account, has been exposed to an expensive, tyrannical prosecution. For these reasons, I give to *Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall*, and to him alone, my right, interest, and property in these letters, as fully and completely, to all intents and purposes, as an author can possibly convey his property in his own works to another.

This edition contains all the letters of *Junius*, *Philo Junius*, and of *Sir William Draper* and *Mr. Horne* to *Junius*, with their respective dates, and according to the order in which they appeared in the *Public Advertiser*†. The auxiliary part of *Philo Junius* was indispensably necessary to defend or explain particular passages in JUNIUS, in answer to plausible objections; but the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it‡. The notes will be found not only useful, but necessary. References to facts not generally known, or allusions to the current

* See Private Letters, No. 59. and note appended to it. EDIT.

† From this order there are two or three deviations, but too trivial to be worth pointing out. EDIT.

‡ It was, in point of fact, publicly avowed by the author, in the following notice inserted in the *Public Advertiser* October 20, 1771:

“We have the author’s consent to say, that the letters, published in this paper under the signature of *Philo Junius*, are written by *Junius*.” EDIT.

report or opinion of the day, are in a little time unintelligible. Yet the reader will not find himself overloaded with explanations. I was not born to be a commentator, even upon my own works.

It remains to say a few words upon the liberty of the press. The daring spirit, by which these letters are supposed to be distinguished, seems to require that something serious should be said in their defence. I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read, than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country. If therefore the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law. I speak to the plain understanding of the people, and appeal to their honest, liberal construction of me.

Good men, to whom alone I address myself, appear to me to consult their piety as little as their judgment and experience, when they admit the great and essential advantages accruing to society from the freedom of the press, yet indulge themselves in peevish or passionate exclamations against the abuses of it. Betraying an unreasonable expectation of benefits, pure and intire, from any human institution, they in effect arraign the goodness of Providence, and confess that they are dissatisfied with the common lot of humanity. In the present instance they really create to their own minds, or greatly exaggerate the evil they complain of. The laws of England provide, as effectually as any human laws can do, for the protection of the subject, in his reputation, as well as in his person and property. If the characters of private men are insulted or injured, a double remedy is open to them, by *action* and *indictment*. If, through indolence, false shame, or indifference, they will not appeal to the laws of their country, they fail in their duty to society, and are unjust to themselves. If, from an unwarrantable distrust of the integrity of juries, they would wish to obtain justice by any mode of proceeding, more summary than a trial by their peers, I do not scruple to affirm, that they are in effect greater enemies to themselves, than to the libeller they prosecute.

With regard to strictures upon the characters of men in office and the measures of government, the case is a little different. A considerable latitude must be allowed in the discussion of public affairs, or the liberty of the press will be of no benefit to society. As the indulgence of private malice and personal slander should be checked and resisted by every legal means, so a constant examination into the characters and conduct of ministers and magistrates should be equally promoted and encouraged. They, who conceive that our news papers are no restraint upon bad men, or impediment to the execution of bad measures, know nothing of this country. In that state of abandoned servility and prostitution, to which the undue influence of the crown has reduced the other branches of the legislature, our ministers and magistrates have in reality little punishment to fear, and few difficulties to contend with, beyond the censure of the press, and the spirit of resistance, which it excites among the people. While this censorial power is maintained, to speak in the words of a most ingenious foreigner, both minister and magistrate is compelled, in almost every instance, *to choose between his duty and his reputation*. A dilemma of this kind, perpetually before him, will not indeed work a miracle upon his heart, but it will assuredly operate, in some degree, upon his conduct. At all events, these are not times to admit of any relaxation in the little discipline we have left.

But it is alledged, that the licentiousness of the press is carried beyond all bounds of decency and truth;—that our excellent ministers are continually exposed to the public hatred or derision;—that, in prosecutions for libels on government, juries are partial to the popular side; and that, in the most flagrant cases, a verdict cannot be obtained for the King.—If the premises were admitted, I should deny the conclusion. It is not true that the temper of the times has, in general, an undue influence over the conduct of juries. On the contrary, many signal instances may be produced of verdicts returned from the King, when the inclinations of the people led strongly to an undistinguishing opposition to

government. Witness the cases of *Mr. Wilkes* and *Mr. Almon**. In the late prosecutions of the printers of my address to a great personage, the juries were never fairly dealt with. —*Lord Chief Justice Mansfield*, conscious that the paper in question contained no treasonable or libellous matter, and that the severest parts of it, however painful to the King, or offensive to his servants, were strictly true, would fain have restricted the jury to the finding of special facts, which, as to *guilty* or *not guilty*, were merely indifferent. This particular motive, combined with his general purpose to contract the power of juries, will account for the charge he delivered in *Woodfall's* trial†. He told the jury, in so many words, that

* The case of Wilkes here alluded to is his prosecution, for having written an obscene parody on Pope's Essay on Man, which he called "An Essay on Woman." Almon was prosecuted merely for having sold in a magazine entitled *The London Museum*, which he did not print, a transcript of JUNIUS's letter to the King, first published in the *Public Advertiser*, and thence copied into a variety of other newspapers. And the result was a verdict against him, although it did not appear to the court that he was privy to the sale, or even knew that the magazine, sold at his shop, contained the letter to the King. EDIT.

† Memorable as this charge is on various accounts, and especially as having laid the foundation for a very warm and animated discussion both in and out of parliament, it is very extraordinary that it is no where reported in our senatorial documents, and is indeed difficult to be obtained from any other quarter. The fact is, that although it was laid by Lord Mansfield on the table, in the house of lords, when summoned at his request to take it into consideration, yet as he did not make any express motion upon the subject, it was not entered into the journals, and was only left with the clerk for any noble lord to take a copy of it, who was desirous of doing so. The reader, therefore, will feel gratified by being put into possession of the charge, together with Lord Camden's interrogatories in regard to it, proposed to the Lord Chief Justice in his proper place in the upper house, and to which the latter did not chuse to make any reply. To these it may be also advantageous to subjoin a summary of the speeches of the late Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke upon the same subject, when introduced into the House of Commons, as containing, in a condensed form, the argument of the opposite sides of the question. Mr. Fox, it is well known, was, at this period, in favour of the ministry; but the political error he then laboured under, he nobly redeemed a few years afterwards, and amply atoned for to the public, by the excellent and truly constitutional bill "to remove doubts respecting the functions of juries in cases of libel," introduced into the senate in the session of 1791, as more particularly noticed in another part of this work, and which, by his indefatigable

they had nothing to determine, except the fact of *printing and publishing*, and whether or no the *blanks* or *innuendoes* were properly filled up in the information;—but that, whether the defendant had committed a *crime* or not, was no matter

fatigable perseverance was at length carried through the legislature, has nullified Lord Mansfield's doctrine, and set the important question completely at rest.

Mr. Woodfall, as a party concerned, modestly forbore to offer any statement of this celebrated trial in the Public Advertiser, in consequence of which the writer is obliged to avail himself of the following extract, though very imperfectly given, from a contemporary journal.

An account of the trial at Guildhall of the original publisher of Junius's Letter to the King.

Yesterday morning, [June 13, 1770,] about nine o'clock, came on before Lord Mansfield, in the Court of King's-bench at Guildhall, the trial of Mr. Woodfall, the original printer of JUNIUS's letter in the Public Advertiser of December 19. Only seven of the special jury attended, viz. William Bond, foreman; Peter Cazalet, Alexander Peter Allen, Frederick Commerell, Hermen Meyer, John Thomas, and Barrington Buggin.

Upon which the following five talesmen were taken out of the box, viz. William Hannard, Paul Verges, William Sibley, William Willet, and William Davis.

The trial was opened by Mr. Wallis.

Nathaniel Crowder swore he bought the paper of Mr. Woodfall's publishing servant, whom he named.

Mr. Harris proved that the duty for the advertisements and stamps were paid by Mr. Woodfall. And

A Clerk of Sir John Fielding's proved, by a receipt from Mr. Woodfall, his concern in and for the paper.

The publication and direction of the paper by Mr. Woodfall being thus proved,

Lord Mansfield, in his charge, told the jury, That there were only two points for their consideration: the first the printing and publishing the paper in question; the second, the sense and meaning of it: That as to the charges of its being malicious, seditious, &c. they were inferences in law about which no evidence need be given, any more than that part of an indictment need be proved by evidence, which charges a man with being moved by the instigation of the Devil: That therefore the printing and sense of the paper were alone what the jury had to consider of; and that if the paper should really contain no breach of the law, that was a matter which might afterwards be moved in arrest of judgment: That he had no evidence to sum up to them, as the defendant's counsel admitted the printing and publication to be well proved: That as to the sense, they had not called in doubt the manner in which the dashes in the paper were filled up in the record, by giving any other sense to the passages; if they had,

of consideration to twelve men, who yet, upon their oaths, were to pronounce their peer *guilty*, or *not guilty*. When we hear such nonsense delivered from the bench, and find it supported by a laboured train of sophistry, which a plain

had, the jury would have been to consider which application was the true one, that charged in the information, or suggested by the defendant. That the jury might now compare the paper with the information: That if they did not find the application wrong, they must find the defendant guilty; and if they did find it wrong, they must acquit him: That this was not the time for alleviation or aggravation, that being for future consideration: That every subject was under the controul of the law, and had a right to expect from it protection for his person, his property, and his good name: That if any man offended the laws, he was amenable to them, and was not to be censured or punished, but in a legal course: That any person libelled had a right either to bring a civil or a criminal prosecution: That in the latter, which is by information or indictment, it is immaterial whether the publication be false or true: That it is no defence to say it is true, because it is a breach of the peace, and therefore criminal; but in a civil prosecution, it is a defence to say the charges in the publication are true; because the plaintiff there sues only for a pecuniary satisfaction to himself; and that this is the distinction as to that nature of defence.—His Lordship said, he was afraid it was too true that few characters in the kingdom escaped libels: That many were very injuriously treated—and if so, that the best way to prevent it was by an application to the law, which is open to every man: That the liberty of the press consisted in every man having the power to publish his sentiments without first applying for a licence to any one; but if any man published what was against law, he did it at his peril, and was answerable for it in the same manner as he who suffers his hand to commit an assault, or his tongue to utter blasphemy.”

Between eleven and twelve the jury withdrew; at four the court adjourned; and a little after nine the jury waited on Lord Mansfield at his house in Bloomsbury-square, with their verdict, which was *Guilty of PRINTING and PUBLISHING ONLY*.

This charge having been laid upon the table of the House of Lords, December 10, 1770, by the Lord Chief Justice, the following questions were put to him, in his place, by Lord Camden, on the day ensuing.

1. Does the opinion mean to declare, that upon the general issue of Not Guilty, in the case of a seditious libel, the jury have no right, by law, to examine the innocence or criminality of the paper, if they think fit, and to form their verdict upon such examination?

2. Does the opinion mean to declare, that in the case abovementioned, when the jury have delivered in their verdict, *Guilty*, that this verdict has found the fact only and not the law?

3. Is it to be understood by this opinion, that if the jury come to the bar, and say that they find the printing and publishing, but that the paper

understanding is unable to follow, and which an unlearned jury, however it may shock their reason, cannot be supposed

is no libel, that in that case the jury have found the defendant guilty generally, and the verdict must be so entered up?

4. Whether the opinion means to say, that if the judge, after giving his opinion of the innocence or criminality of the paper, should leave the consideration of that matter, together with the printing and publishing, to the jury, such a direction would be contrary to law?

5. I beg leave to ask, whether dead and living judges, then absent, did declare their opinions in open court, and whether the noble Lord has any note of such opinions?

6. Whether they declared such opinions, after solid arguments, or upon any point judicially before them?

To these queries Lord Mansfield made no reply, briefly observing that he would not answer interrogatories.

The subject was introduced into the lower house, December 6, 1770, on a motion made by Mr. Serjeant Glynn. "That a committee should be appointed to enquire into the administration of criminal justice, and the proceedings of the judges in Westminster-hall, particularly in cases relating to the Liberty of the Press, and the constitutional power and duty of juries."

In the course of the discussion, the speakers on both sides alluded not only to the charge in Mr. Woodfall's case, but also to Mr. Baron Smythe's conduct in trying a Scotch serjeant at Guildford, which will be found more particularly detailed in the Editor's note to JUNIUS'S Letter LXVIII. Amongst the chief speakers on this occasion were, as we have already observed, on the side of the ministry, Mr. Fox, and on that of the people, Mr. Burke. The following summary of their argument, which in truth contains the general argument of the rest, is extracted from a pamphlet entitled *Vox Senatûs*, printed previous to the contest which soon afterwards ensued, between the House of Commons and the Printers, respecting the publication of parliamentary debates, and which, in a great measure, led the way to that controversy. The speeches in this pamphlet were altogether reported by the late Mr. Wm. Woodfall, whose strength of memory, nice accuracy and rigid impartiality, were equally subjects of admiration, and held in the highest veneration, by the members of both houses of parliament, to whatever party they might belong, during the many years that he continued to exercise his talents in that most laborious, and we trust we may add, most important branch of public duty.

Mr. Fox spoke as follows:—

"We are told by the abettors of this motion, that jealousies, murmurs, and discontents encrease and multiply throughout the nation; that the people are under terrible apprehensions that the law is perverted, the juries are deprived of their constitutional powers, that the courts of justice are not sound and untainted; in a word, that the judges have, like a dozen of monstrous Patagonian giants, either swallowed, or are going to swallow

qualified to refute, can it be wondered that they should return a verdict, perplexed, absurd, or imperfect?—*Lord Mans-*

up both law and gospel. And how do they prove the truth of these allegations? the manner is pleasant enough. They refer us to their own libellous remonstrances, and to those infamous lampoons and satires, which they have taken care to write and circulate. They modestly substitute themselves in the place of the nation, and call their own complaints the grievances of England. Their meaning is plain enough, and we understand perfectly how all their grievances might be redressed. For my part I am not disposed to take the voice of a miserable faction for the voice of my country. Were the people really dissatisfied, I should be glad to know how I am to ascertain the reality of that dissatisfaction? I must freely confess, that I know no other way but that of consulting this House. Here the people are represented, and here their voice expressed. There is no other criterion but the majority of this assembly, by which we can judge of their sentiments. This man, in order to answer one purpose, and that man, in order to answer another, will tell you that a general cry has gone abroad against certain men and measures, but will you be so credulous as to take him upon his word, when you can easily penetrate his interested views and find him the original and prime mover of all the clamour? I can easily trace the authors of the outcry raised against the judges; and I would point them out, had not they, as well as their selfish ends, been already exposed in all their deformity. Why then, should we hesitate to put a negative upon a question, which sprung from such a low source? from dirt it came, and to dirt let it return. As to myself, I certainly will, as I can never acknowledge for the voice of the nation, what is not echoed by the majority of the house; and I do not find that the majority of us entertain any suspicions, much less terrible apprehensions, of the judges; though, if there were any just foundation for complaint, we must certainly have been better informed of it than the people.

Indeed if the adoption of this enquiry would answer any good purpose, I should not be such a violent opposer, convinced as I am that the judges are blameless. But I am fully persuaded, that would not be the case. For as I have shown, it would be an attempt to remove discontents which do not exist but among those who have generated, fostered, and reared them up to their present magnitude, and would not, therefore, be satisfied, though Justice, though Astrea herself, should descend naked from heaven to exculpate our judges. And what is more, it would, on their own principles, prove fruitless and nugatory, even if we suppose the people to be really discontented. For what have they been doing for these two last years, but ringing constantly in our ears the contempt in which we are held by the people? have they not made these walls echo with the terms of reproach, which they alledged were cast upon us by men of every degree, by high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned? were we not, and are we not still, according to their account, held in universal detestation and abhorrence? does not the whole empire, from one end to the other, reckon

Feld has not yet explained to the world, why he accepted of a verdict, which the court afterwards set aside as illegal,

us equally weak and wicked? in a word, are we not become an abomination in the land? such is the language of the minority. How can they, with a serious face, desire us to undertake this enquiry, in order to satisfy the people? the people, if their former assertions are to be credited, will receive no good at our hands. They will regard what we say no more than a knot of coffee-house politicians. We are too ridiculous as well as odious, to do any thing that will appear gracious in their eyes. What is the conclusion to be drawn? let us satisfy ourselves. Let us act according to the dictates of honour and conscience, and be at peace with our own minds. It is thus that we shall sooner or later regain the confidence of our constituents, if we have lost it; and not by humouring, as foolish nurses humour great lubberly boys, the wayward whims of a misled multitude. The characteristic of this house, should be a firm and manly steadiness, an unshaken perseverance in the pursuit of great and noble plans of general utility, and not a wavering inconstant fluctuation of counsels regulated by the shifting of the popular breeze. If we are not to judge for ourselves, but to be ever at the command of the vulgar, and their capricious shouts and hisses, I cannot see what advantage the nation can reap from a representative body, which they might not have reaped from a tumultuous assembly of themselves, collected at random on Salisbury Plain or Runningmede. And it is very well known, that such an irregular and riotous crowd are but very ill qualified to judge truly of their own interest, or to pursue it, even when they form a right judgment. They are but very unsteady guardians of liberty and property. Do you want proofs? consult the English history, and you will find them in every page."

Mr. Burke, in answer to Mr. Fox, and in support of the motion, spoke as follows:—

"The subject of our present debate, is in my opinion, a matter of a very serious and important nature; and it is not therefore to be dismissed without mature deliberation. The honourable gentleman who introduced it, boldly arraigns the general conduct of our courts of justice; and the gentleman who seconded him, as boldly arraigns the conduct of a particular judge. Either charge should be alone sufficient to excite our closest attention. What effect ought then both in conjunction to produce? they ought to impel us, if not to enquiry, at least to a minute and elaborate discussion. For what has the mover of the question arraigned? he has arraigned the general principles of jurisprudence now adopted by our judges, and has, *in his way*, proved them not only unconstitutional, but illegal. He has laid before you two heads of accusation, two points, in which he conceives the judges have not done their duty. These two points are a *rule of law* and a *rule of evidence* authorised, as he asserts, neither by precedent nor by the spirit of liberty. First he tells you that judges act illegally and unconstitutionally, in directing juries not to take cognizance of the malice or innocence

and which, as it took no notice of the *innuendoes*, did not even correspond with his own charge. If he had known his duty

cence of a culprit's intention in cases of libels; and secondly he tells you, that in cases of libels, they act illegally and unconstitutionally in acquainting the jury that the law infers guilt from the *prima facie* evidence; a position by which masters become, even in criminal cases, responsible for the conduct of their servants.

These are the doctrines which he arraigns, and which are now in issue before you. He asserts that they are not sanctioned by precedent. But here his reading seems not to have been sufficiently extensive. There are precedents, and those too, I fear, of too much weight and authority. You have heard Lord Chief Justice Raymond's words quoted, and nothing can be more explicit, than they are in favour of these doctrines. What! you will say can these be the doctrines of Lord Raymond, and yet be unknown to the learned serjeant? Why it is impossible. A case so much in point could never escape his industry and learning: and to render the thing certain, he gives the assertion a flat contradiction. But I say that it is not only possible and probable, but certain; and let me tell you, that the way to overturn the credit of grave and universally esteemed historians, is not to give them a flat contradiction. The most positive asseverations of a modern go for nothing, when they are unsupported by the contradictory testimony of some ancient contemporary author. Was this heresy then adopted as an article of faith, by Raymond? Yes, sir, it was; the fact is too clear, too well known, to bear dispute. Nor was it an innovation introduced by that great judge. No; he received it as a legacy from still greater judges, and among the rest, from the very bulwark of the revolution, Lord Holt.

But what though this opinion has been sanctioned by a series of precedents; what though it has been embraced by men as deep skilled in law and casuistry as remarkable for inflexible patriotism; have not the greatest lawyers, the profoundest casuists, and the staunchest patriots erred? Why then should the judges be thought exempted from the common lot of humanity? Why should they be deemed infallible more than other mortals? believe me, the wisdom of the whole nation can see farther than the sages of Westminster Hall. In a constitutional point, like this, the collective knowledge and penetration of the people at large are more to be depended on than the boasted discernment of all the bar. The reason is clear. Their eyes are not dazzled by the prospect of an opposite interest. The crown has no lure sufficiently tempting to make them forget themselves and the general good.

Why then should not we on this occasion, listen to their voice, as it is heard sufficiently loud and distinct? because, forsooth, they have no voice! because their sentiments are only to be gathered from the determinations of the majority of this House! because after a general election is closed, they have no legal existence, and have therefore no other mouth but that of their representatives! Strange doctrine! What then is become of petitioning? Are they not legally entitled to that right? You cannot deny it with-

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he should have sent the jury back.—I speak advisedly, and am well assured that no lawyer of character, in Westminster-hall, will contradict me. To shew the falsehood of *Lord Mansfield's* doctrine, it is not necessary to enter into the me-

out denying the authority of the Bill of Rights. How then can you pretend that they have no legal voice, but that of their representatives? they have both a real and a legal voice, and they have uttered that voice. Consult the *History of the reign of George the third*. In that performance, which will be an everlasting monument of the folly, incapacity, and pernicious politics of our late and present ministers, you will find it demonstrated, that the majority of Englishmen have petitioned the King, and have consequently expressed their own sentiments by their own mouth, without the intervention of their deputies. By what rule then does the majority of this House square its conduct, when it acts in direct opposition to the majority of the people? by that rule of arithmetic, which by its almighty fiat, overturned the laws of nature, decreed 296 to be greater than 1146, gave us Colonel Luttrell for John Wilkes, a cuckoo in a magpy's nest to suck its eggs.

That there should be found gentlemen, who would annihilate the people, and acknowledge no other voice but that of this House, is to me not at all surprising! because the conduct of the most violent sticklers for this doctrine, has not deserved much applause or favour from them. But that they should have renounced reason and common sense, so far as to maintain that the majority of this assembly is the only organ, by which their sentiments can be expressed, is to me truly surprising: for where in the name of wonder, should the House acquire the necessary knowledge or intelligence? is it by turning over these musty volumes, or by rummaging these gaudy boxes which lie on your table? no; they contain none of these mysteries. How then are they to be explored? Is there any virtue or inspiration in these benches or cushions, by which they are communicated? or does the echo of these walls whisper the secret in your ears? No; but the echo of every other wall, the murmur of every stream, the shouts, ay, and the hoots and hisses of every street in the nation ring it in your ears, and deafen you with their din. *Deafen you* did I say? alas! you were deaf before, or rather dead, else you would have heard; for their voice is loud enough to waken almost the dead. For shame, gentlemen, let us hear no more such weak reasonings and sophistical refinements. Far from producing conviction, they cannot even extort a smile, except peradventure at the author, who resembles a hunter, that would catch an elephant in toils made of cobweb. The people have a voice of their own, and it must, nay it will be sooner or later heard; and I, as in duty bound, will always exert every nerve, and every power, of which I am master, to hasten the completion of so desirable an event. My reverence for the judges, against whom the popular cry is now so loud, will not deter me; because I know all judges are but men. Not only former judges, but juries have erred. Why not the present? Yes, sir, juries have erred, and they may err again. When they do, I shall be as ready to enquire into their conduct as I am

rits of the paper which produced the trial. If every line of it were treason, his charge to the jury would still be false, absurd, illegal, and unconstitutional. If I stated the merits of my letter to *the King*, *I should imitate* LORD MANSFIELD,

now into that of the judges. Gentlemen may talk of their great respect for juries, and their readiness to acquiesce in their determinations; but I am not disposed to be so complaisant, I will make no man nor any set of men a compliment of the constitution. It is too valuable an inheritance to be so lightly relinquished. When the actions of juries are praiseworthy, let them be applauded; when they are criminal, let them be punished. Popularity should not be bought at so high a price. For my own part let the malicious and the ungenerous say what they will, I am a blind follower of no man, nor a bond slave to any party. I have always acted according to the best information of my judgment, and the clear dictates of my conscience. On this occasion I solemnly protest before God, that I entertain no personal enmity against any man, nor have I any interested schemes to promote. My sole object in supporting the proposed enquiry is the public welfare and the acquittal of the judges, for I am satisfied that an acquittal will be the consequence. In acting thus I think myself their best friend; because no other plan will clear their character. Till this step is taken, in vain do they pretend to superior sanctity: in vain do some gentlemen tread their halls as holy ground, or reverence their courts as the temples of the divinity. To the people they appear the temples of idols, and false oracles, or rather as the dwellings of truth and justice, converted into dens of thieves and robbers. For what greater robbers can there be, than those who rob men of their laws and liberties? No man has a greater veneration than I have for the doctors of the law; and it is for that reason that I would thus render their characters pure and unsullied as the driven snow. But will any of you pretend that this is at present the case? are not their temples profaned? has not pollution entered them, and penetrated into the holy of holies? Are not the priests suspected of being no better than those of Bell and the Dragon, or rather of being worse than those of Baal? and has not therefore the fire of the people's wrath almost consumed them? The lightning has pierced the sanctuary, and rent the veil of their temple from the top even to the bottom. Nothing is whole, nothing is sound. The ten tables of the law are shattered and splintered. The ark of the covenant is lost, and passed into the hands of the uncircumcised. Both they and ye are become an abomination unto the Lord. In order to wash away your sins, let Moses and the prophets ascend Mount Sinai, and bring us down the second table of the law in thunder and lightnings; for in thunder and lightnings the constitution was first, and must now be established. Let the judges mount up to the source of precedents and decisions, and trace the law clear and unpolluted along the stream of time, and the silent lapse of years. Let them march in procession to this house, ushered in by a long train of precedents and opinions, and lay them all in a bundle in the middle of the room. Then, and not till then, will they stand

and* TRAVEL OUT OF THE RECORD. *When law and reason speak plainly, we do not want authority to direct our understandings. Yet, for the honour of the profession, I am content to oppose one lawyer to another, especially when it hap-*

stand justified. Then, and not till then, will you stand justified. In vain do you trust to the virtue of that furred gown, or to the magic of that bauble, as Cromwell truly called it. They confer neither real power, nor, what is often its parent, a fair character. These desirable possessions are acquired by an upright conduct, and the confidence of the people." EDIT.

* The following quotation from a speech delivered by Lord Chatham on the eleventh of December, 1770, is taken with exactness. The reader will find it curious in itself, and very fit to be inserted here. "My Lords, the verdict, given in Woodfall's trial, was *guilty of printing and publishing ONLY*; upon which two motions were made in court;—one, in arrest of judgment, by the defendant's counsel, grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict;—the other, by the counsel for the crown, for a rule upon the defendant, to shew cause, why the verdict should not be entered up according to the *legal* import of the words. On both motions, a rule was granted, and soon after the matter was argued before the court of King's Bench. The noble judge, when he delivered the opinion of the court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *Nisi Prius*, as well the evidence that had been given, as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper, had a motion been made of either side for a new trial, because either a verdict given contrary to evidence, or an improper charge by the judge at *Nisi Prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial. But when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict, by entering it up according to the legal import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the face of the record*; and the court, in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the *record*, that they cannot take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it; in the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record*. The noble judge did travel out of the record, and I affirm that his discourse was *irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented*. His apparent motive, for doing what he knew to be wrong, was, that he might have an opportunity of telling the public *extrajudicially*, that the other three judges concurred in the doctrine laid down in his charge." AUTHOR.

The opinion of the court here referred to, was as follows; and we give it as an extraordinary *dictum*, not readily to be met with in the present day. It was delivered by the Lord Chief Justice, Nov. 20, 1770.

"This matter comes on before the court upon two rules, which have been obtained; the one by the defendant's counsel, to stay the entering up the interlocutory judgment in this cause; the other by the Attorney General, to enter up the judgment according to the legal import of the verdict. In considering these rules, we are naturally led to begin with the last, because the last may decide the former; and in doing this, it will be previously necessary

pens that the King's Attorney General has virtually disclaimed the doctrine by which the Chief Justice meant to insure success to the prosecution. The opinion of the plaintiff's counsel, (however it may be otherwise insignificant) is

necessary to state a report of the trial. 'The defendant was tried for the printing and publishing, in a paper called the Public Advertiser, a libel signed JUNIUS; and in the information the tenor of the libel was set forth, with innuendoes, to complete the blanks, and with the usual epithets. (1.) The first witness, Crowder, proved the buying of the paper, which was produced, and twelve others, at the defendant's printing-house, of his servant. (2.) Harris proved payments at the stamp-office, by the defendant, for the Public Advertiser, and that the duty for the stamp upon this paper was paid by the defendant's servant. (3.) Lee, Sir John Fielding's clerk, proved several payments to the defendant for advertisements in the Public Advertiser, and produced his receipt.' The proof upon the trial was clear, and not controverted by the defendant's counsel, who called no witnesses. They rested their defence in objecting to some of the innuendoes, but principally applied to the jury to convince them, that the paper was innocent, and that some of the epithets in the information, did not apply to the intention of the defendant. No fact, in case the paper be innocent, can make the publication a subject of guilt; and if the jury find it so, the defendant may have advantage of its innocence by arrest of judgment in this court; but that is not any question here. Nor is this a case, like some of those, where a publication of a paper may be justified, from particular circumstances. I directed the jury, that if they believed the innuendoes, as to persons and things, to have been properly filled up in the information, and to be the true meaning of the paper, and if they gave credit to the witnesses, they must find the defendant guilty; for, if they believed them, there is no doubt but there was sufficient evidence of the defendant's printing and publishing. If the jury were obliged to determine, whether the paper was in law a libel or no, or to judge whether it was criminal, or to what degree, or if they were to require proofs of a criminal intention, then this direction was wrong. I told them, as I have always done before, that whether a libel or not, was a mere question of law, arising out of the record; and that all the epithets inserted in the information, were also formal inferences of law. A general verdict of the jury, finds only what the law implies from the fact. There is no necessary proof of malice to be made; for that is scarce possible to be produced. The law implies, from the fact of publication, a criminal intent. The jury stayed out a long while—many hours—and at last delivered in their verdict at my house (the objection to its being out of the city being cured by consent.) To the usual question of the officer, the foreman answered in these words, Guilty of printing and publishing only. The officer has entered up the words literally, without so much as adding the usual words of reference to connect the sense. An affidavit of one of the jury has been attempted to be laid before the court by the defendant's counsel; but

weighty in the scale of the defendant.—*My Lord Chief Justice De Grey*, who filed the information *ex officio*, is directly with me. If he had concurred in *Lord Mansfield's* doctrine, the trial must have been a very short one. The facts were

but we are all of opinion that it cannot be received.—Such affidavit can only be admitted in motion for a new trial, where there is a doubt upon the words in which the verdict was delivered, or upon the judge's notes of the evidence: but an affidavit of a jurymen cannot be admitted to explain or assert, what he thought, or intended, at the time of giving in the verdict. The motion of the Attorney General divides itself into two parts; (1.) the first, to fill up the finding of the jury, with the usual words of reference, so as to connect the verdict with the information. The omission of these words, we are of opinion, is a technical mistake of the clerk, and may be now supplied. (2.) The second head of argument, is to omit the word *only* in the entry of the verdict. This we are all of opinion cannot be done; the word *only* must stand in the verdict. No reason can be urged for omitting the word *only*, but what goes to prove that it adds nothing to the sense of the verdict. If this word was omitted, the verdict would then be, guilty of printing and publishing, which is a general verdict of guilty; for there is no other charge in the information, but printing and publishing, and that alone the jury had to enquire. In the case of the King and Williams, for the North Briton, the jury found the defendant guilty of printing and publishing. The officer entered up the verdict guilty generally: the defendant received the sentence of this court, and no objection was taken by his counsel. Where there are more charges in an information than one, the finding the defendant guilty of printing and publishing only, would be an acquittal of the other charges; but here the jury had nothing else to find. They found him guilty of printing and publishing only, which was all of which they were to find him guilty, being the only crime with which he was charged. We are all of opinion, that my direction to the jury is right, and according to law; the positions contained in it never were doubted; it never has been, nor is it now complained of, in this court. There clearly can be no judgment of acquittal, because the fact found by the jury is the only question they had to try. The single doubt that remains, is as to the meaning of the word *only*. It would be improper now to make a question of the law, as I lay it down. In all the reports which I have made upon trials for libels, where my direction has been uniformly the same, the bar may remember the dead, and the living who are now absent, all to have concurred in agreeing, that it was law thus to direct the jury in matter of libel. Taking then the law to be thus, the only question is, whether any meaning, which will affect the verdict, can be put upon the word *only*, as it stands upon this record. If the jury meant to say, they did not find the paper a libel, or the intent of the defendant to be criminal in publishing it, or that they did not find the truth and application of the epithets in the information, all this would have vitiated the verdict; for it would have been entering into matters not be-

either admitted by *Woodfall's* counsel, or easily proved to the satisfaction of the jury. But *Mr. De Grey*, far from thinking he should acquit himself of his duty by barely proving the facts, entered largely, and I confess not without ability, into the demerits of the paper, which he called a *seditious libel*. He dwelt but lightly upon those points, which, (according to Lord Mansfield) were the only matter of consideration to the jury. The criminal intent, the libellous matter, the pernicious tendency of the paper itself, were the topics on which he principally insisted, and of which, for more than an hour, he tortured his faculties to convince the jury. If he agreed in opinion with *Lord Mansfield*, his discourse was impertinent, ridiculous, and unseasonable. But, understanding the law as I do, what he said was at least consistent and to the purpose.

If any honest man should still be inclined to leave the construction of libels to the court, I would intreat him to consider what a dreadful complication of hardships he imposes upon his fellow-subject.—In the first place, the prosecution commences by *information* of an officer of the crown, not by the regular constitutional mode of *indictment* before a grand jury.—As the fact is usually admitted, or in general can easily be proved, the office of the petty jury is nugatory.—The *court* then judges of the nature and extent of the offence, and determines *ad arbitrium*, the *quantum* of the punishment, from a small fine to a heavy one, to repeated whipping, to pillory, and unlimited imprisonment. Cutting off ears and noses *might* still be inflicted by a resolute judge; but I will be candid enough to suppose that penalties, so apparently shocking to humanity, would not be hazarded in these times.

fore them. But if they meant to say, that they did not find the meaning put upon the innuendoes, we should enter up judgment of acquittal; but this would be contradictory to the former part of their verdict. It is impossible to say with certainty, what they meant. Possibly they meant differently, and some of them might intend not to find the whole sense put upon the innuendoes. This would be the most favourable supposition for the defendant, to which the Judges will always lean. But if a doubt arises on the import of the verdict, the Court should grant a *venire facias de novo*, which is in their power to do, when a verdict of acquittal has not been found for the defendant." EDIT.

—In all other criminal prosecutions, the jury decides upon the fact and the crime in one word, and the court pronounces a *certain* sentence, which is the sentence of the law, not of the judge. If *Lord Mansfield's* doctrine be received, the jury must either find a verdict of acquittal, contrary to evidence, (which, I can conceive, might be done by very conscientious men, rather than trust a fellow-creature to *Lord Mansfield's* mercy) or they must leave to the court two offices, never but in this instance united, of finding guilty, and awarding punishment.

But, says this honest *Lord Chief Justice*, “If the paper be not criminal, the defendant,” (though found guilty by his peers) “is in no danger, for he may move the court in arrest of judgment.”—True, my good Lord, but who is to determine upon the motion?—Is not the court still to decide, whether judgment shall be entered up or not; and is not the defendant this way as effectually deprived of judgment by his peers, as if he were tried in a court of civil law, or in the chambers of the inquisition? It is you, my Lord, who then try the crime, not the jury. As to the probable effect of a motion in arrest of judgment, I shall only observe, that no reasonable man would be so eager to possess himself of the invidious power of inflicting punishment, if he were not predetermined to make use of it.

Again;—We are told that judge and jury have a distinct office;—that the jury is to find the fact, and the judge to deliver the law. *De jure respondent judices, de facto jurati*. The *dictum* is true, though not in the sense given to it by *Lord Mansfield*. The jury are undoubtedly to determine the fact, that is, whether the defendant did or did not commit the crime charged against him. The judge pronounces the sentence annexed by law to that fact so found; and if, in the course of the trial, any question of law arises, both the counsel and the jury must, of necessity, appeal to the judge, and leave it to his decision. An *exception* or *plea in bar* may be allowed by the court; but, when issue is joined, and the jury have received their charge, it is not possible, in the nature of things, for them to separate the law from the fact, unless they think proper to return a *special* verdict.

It has also been alledged that, although a common jury are sufficient to determine a plain matter of fact, they are not qualified to comprehend the meaning, or to judge of the tendency of a seditious libel. In answer to this objection, (which, if well founded, would prove nothing as to the *strict right* of returning a general verdict) I might safely deny the truth of the assertion. *Englishmen* of that rank, from which juries are usually taken, are not so illiterate as, (to serve a particular purpose) they are now represented. Or, admitting the fact, let a special jury be summoned in all cases of difficulty and importance, and the objection is removed. But the truth is, that if a paper, supposed to be a libel upon government, be so obscurely worded, that twelve common men cannot possibly see the seditious meaning and tendency of it, it is in effect no libel. It cannot inflame the minds of the people, nor alienate their affections from government; for they no more understand what it means, than if it were published in a language unknown to them.

Upon the whole matter, it appears to *my* understanding, clear beyond a doubt, that if, in any future prosecution for a seditious libel, the jury should bring in a verdict of acquittal not warranted by the evidence, it will be owing to the false and absurd doctrines laid down by *Lord Mansfield*. Disgusted at the odious artifices made use of by the judge to mislead and perplex them, guarded against his sophistry, and convinced of the falsehood of his assertions, they may perhaps determine to thwart his detestable purpose, and defeat him at any rate. To *him* at least, they will do *substantial justice*.—Whereas, if the whole charge, laid in the information, be fairly and honestly submitted to the jury, there is no reason whatsoever to presume that twelve men, upon their oaths, will not decide impartially between the King and the defendant. The numerous instances, in our state-trials, of verdicts recovered for the King, sufficiently refute the false and scandalous imputations thrown by the abettors of *Lord Mansfield* upon the integrity of juries.—But even admitting the supposition that, in times of univer-

sal discontent, arising from the notorious maladministration of public affairs, a seditious writer should escape punishment, it makes nothing against my general argument. If juries are fallible, to what other tribunal shall we appeal?—If juries cannot safely be trusted, shall we unite the offices of judge and jury, so wisely divided by the constitution, and trust implicitly to *Lord Mansfield*?—Are the judges of the court of King's Bench more likely to be unbiassed and impartial, than twelve yeomen, burgesses, or gentlemen, taken indifferently from the county at large?—Or, in short, shall there be no decision, unless we have instituted a tribunal, from which no possible abuse or inconvenience whatsoever can arise?—If I am not grossly mistaken, these questions carry a decisive answer along with them*.

Having cleared the freedom of the press from a restraint, equally unnecessary and illegal, I return to the use which has been made of it in the present publication.

National reflections, I confess, are not to be justified in theory, nor upon any general principles. To know how well they are deserved, and how justly they have been applied, we must have the evidence of facts before us. We must be conversant with the *Scots* in private life, and observe their principles of acting to *us*, and to each other;—the characteristic prudence, the selfish nationality, the indefatigable smile, the persevering assiduity, the everlasting profession of a discreet and moderate resentment.—If the instance were not too important for an experiment, it might not be amiss to confide a little in their integrity.—Without any abstract reasoning upon causes and effects, we shall soon be

* The questions are so decisive, and the general train of reasoning here advanced so clear and convincing, that the point has been ever since settled upon the authority of common sense, in the feelings and understanding of every man, whether professional or unprofessional. And all that remained to be done was an interference of the legislature to prevent a revival of the question by any future judge upon any future case whatsoever; a business patriotically undertaken by a statesman whose name will ever be connected with genuine patriotism, the late Mr. Fox, who in 1791 introduced a bill into parliament for this purpose, and in 1792 succeeded in carrying it through both houses. See farther on this subject note to JUNIUS, Letter XLI. EDIT.

convinced by *experience*, that the *Scots*, transplanted from their own country, are always a distinct and separate body from the people who receive them. In other settlements, they only love themselves;—in *England*, they cordially love themselves, and as cordially hate their neighbours. For the remainder of their good qualities, I must appeal to the reader's observation, unless he will accept of *my Lord Barrington's* authority. In a letter to the late *Lord Melcombe*, published by *Mr. Lee*, he expresses himself with a truth and accuracy not very common in his lordship's lucubrations.—“And Cockburne like most of his countrymen, is as abject to those above him, as he is insolent to those below him.”* —I am far from meaning to impeach the articles of the Union. If the true spirit of those articles were religiously adhered to, we should not see such a multitude of Scotch commoners in the lower house, as representatives of English boroughs, while not a single Scotch borough is ever represented by an Englishman. We should not see English peerages given to Scotch ladies, or to the elder sons of Scotch peers, and the number of *sixteen* doubled and trebled by a scandalous evasion of the Act of Union.—If it should ever be thought advisable to dissolve an act, the violation or observance of which is invariably directed by the advantage and interest of the *Scots*, I shall say very sincerely with Sir Edward Coke, † “When poor England stood alone, and had not the access of another kingdom, and yet had more and as potent enemies as it now hath, yet the King of England prevailed.”

Some opinion may now be expected from me, upon a point of equal delicacy to the writer, and hazard to the printer. When the character of the chief magistrate is in question, more must be understood, than may safely be expressed. If it be really a part of our constitution, and not a mere *dictum* of the law, that *the King can do no wrong*, it is not the only instance, in the wisest of human institutions, where

* See the same passage quoted in Miscellaneous Letters, No. cxi.
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† Parliamentary History, 7. V. p. 400.

theory is at variance with practice.—That the sovereign of this country is not amenable to any form of trial, known to the laws, is unquestionable. But exemption from punishment is a singular privilege annexed to the royal character, and no way excludes the possibility of deserving it. How long, and to what extent a King of *England* may be protected by the forms, when he violates the spirit of the constitution, deserves to be considered. A mistake in this matter proved fatal to *Charles* and his son.—For my own part, far from thinking that the King can do no wrong, far from suffering myself to be deterred or imposed upon by the language of forms, in opposition to the substantial evidence of truth, if it were my misfortune to live under the inauspicious reign of a prince, whose whole life was employed in one base, contemptible struggle with the free spirit of his people, or in the detestable endeavour to corrupt their moral principles, I would not scruple to declare to him,—“Sir, You alone are the author of the greatest wrong to your subjects and to yourself. Instead of reigning in the hearts of your people, instead of commanding their lives and fortunes through the medium of their affections, has not the strength of the crown, whether influence or prerogative, been uniformly exerted, for eleven years together, to support a narrow, pitiful system of government, which defeats itself, and answers no one purpose of real power, profit, or personal satisfaction to You?—With the greatest unappropriated revenue of any prince in Europe, have we not seen You reduced to such vile, and sordid distresses, as would have conducted any other man to a prison?—With a great military, and the greatest naval power in the known world, have not foreign nations repeatedly insulted You with impunity?—Is it not notorious that the vast revenues, extorted from the labour and industry of your subjects, and given You to do honour to Yourself and to the nation, are dissipated in corrupting their representatives?—Are you a prince of the House of Hanover, and do You exclude all the leading Whig families from your councils?—Do you profess to govern according to Law, and is it consistent with that pro-

fession, to impart your confidence and affection to those men only, who, though now perhaps detached from the desperate cause of the Pretender, are marked in this country by an hereditary attachment to high and arbitrary principles of government?—Are you so infatuated as to take the sense of your people from the representation of ministers, or from the shouts of a mob, notoriously hired to surround your coach, or stationed at a theatre?—And if You are, in reality, that public Man, that King, that Magistrate, which these questions suppose You to be, is it any answer to your people, to say that, among your domestics You are good-humoured,—that to one lady you are faithful;—that to your children You are indulgent?—Sir, the man, who addresses You in these terms is your best friend. He would willingly hazard his life in defence of your title to the crown; and, if *power* be your object, would still shew You how possible it is for a King of England, by the noblest means, to be the most absolute prince in Europe: You have no enemies, Sir, but those, who persuade You to aim at power without right, and who think it flattery to tell You that the character of King dissolves the natural relation between guilt and punishment.”

I cannot conceive that there is a heart so callous, or an understanding so depraved, as to attend to a discourse of this nature, and not to feel the force of it. But where is the man, among those who have access to the closet, resolute and honest enough to deliver it. The liberty of the press is our only resource. It will command an audience when every honest man in the kingdom is excluded. This glorious privilege may be a security to the King, as well as a resource to his people. Had there been no star-chamber, there would have been no rebellion against Charles the First. The constant censure and admonition of the press would have corrected his conduct, prevented a civil war, and saved him from an ignominious death.—I am no friend to the doctrine of precedents exclusive of right, though lawyers often tell us, that whatever has been once done, may lawfully be done again.

I shall conclude this preface with a quotation, applicable to

the subject from a foreign writer*, whose essay on the English constitution I beg leave to recommend to the public, as a performance, deep, solid and ingenious.

“In short, whoever considers what it is, that constitutes the moving principle of what we call great affairs, and the invincible sensibility of man to the opinion of his fellow creatures, will not hesitate to affirm that, if it were possible for the liberty of the press to exist in a despotic government, and, (what is not less difficult) for it to exist without changing the constitution, this liberty of the press would alone form a counterpoise to the power of the prince. If, for example, in an empire of the East, a sanctuary could be found, which, rendered respectable by the ancient religion of the people, might insure safety to those, who should bring thither their observations of any kind; and that, from thence, printed papers should issue, which, under a certain seal, might be equally respected; and which, in their daily appearance, should examine and freely discuss, the conduct of the Cadis, the Bashaws, the Vizir, the Divan, and the Sultan himself, that would introduce immediately some degree of liberty.”

* *Monsieur de Lolme.*

LETTERS
OF
JUNIUS, &c.

LETTER I.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

21 January, 1769.

THE submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, cheerful, and I might almost say, unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

It naturally fills us with resentment, to see such a temper insulted and abused. In reading the history of a free people, whose rights have been invaded, we are interested in their cause. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have submitted, and at what moment it would have been treachery to themselves not to have resisted. How much warmer

will be our resentment, if experience should bring the fatal example home to ourselves!

The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man, who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion; and, when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of enquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers; and if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be supported with firmness, as that which has been adopted with moderation.

The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people*. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak, distracted and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill-usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excesses, but the original fault is in government. Perhaps there never was an instance of a change, in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation, so sudden and extraordinary

* The arrangement of the ministry, at the period in question, was as follows:—Duke of Grafton, first lord of the treasury; Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Camden, lord chancellor; Lord Viscount Townshend, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Earl Rochford, minister for the foreign department; Viscount Weymouth, (afterwards Marquis of Bath), for the home department; Earl of Hillsborough, (since Marquis of Downshire), American minister; Earl Gower, lord president of the council; Earl Bristol, lord privy seal; Sir Edw. Hawke, first lord of the admiralty; Viscount Barrington, secretary at war; Marquis of Granby, master gen. of the ordnance; Lord Howe, treasurer of the navy; Mr. De Grey, (afterwards Lord Walsingham), attorney-general; and Mr. Dunning, solicitor-general. EDIT.

as that which the misconduct of ministers has, within these very few years, produced in Great Britain. When our gracious sovereign ascended the throne, we were a flourishing and a contented people. If the personal virtues of a king could have insured the happiness of his subjects, the scene could not have altered so entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and of distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though it has not yet produced the many salutary effects which were intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such a plan, it undoubtedly arose from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces;—it was not a natural turn for low intrigue; nor was it the treacherous amusement of double and triple negotiations. No, Sir, it arose from a continued anxiety, in the purest of all possible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been answerable to the design. After a rapid succession of changes, we are reduced to that state, which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of distress, which of itself ought to reduce a great nation to despair. It is not the disorder, but the physician;—it is not a casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people desperate.

Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befalls us.

The finances of a nation, sinking under its debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play*. Introduced to act under the auspices of Lord

* The Duke of Grafton took the office of Secretary of State, with an engagement to support the Marquis of Rockingham's administration. He resigned however in a little time, under pretence that he could not act without Lord Chatham, nor bear to see Mr. Wilkes abandoned; but that under Lord Chatham he would act in *any* office. This was the signal of Lord Rockingham's dismissal. When Lord Chatham came in, the Duke got possession of the Treasury. Reader, mark the consequence!

Chatham, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident; but deserting the principles and professions, which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design. As for business, the world yet knows nothing of his talents or resolution; unless a wayward, wavering inconsistency be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonstration of spirit. It may be said perhaps, that it is his Grace's province, as surely it is his passion, rather to distribute than to save the public money, and that while Lord North is Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Treasury may be as thoughtless and extravagant as he pleases. I hope however he will not rely too much on the fertility of Lord North's genius for finance. His lordship is yet to give us the first proof of his abilities: It may be candid to suppose that he has hitherto voluntarily concealed his talents; intending perhaps to astonish the world, when we least expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of resources equal to the necessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He must now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wish us to forget, that, since he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no system adhered to, nor any one important measure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the service of the current year be not irrevocably fixed on, let me warn him to think seriously of consequences before he ventures to increase the public debt*. Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a six years' peace, to see new millions borrowed, without an eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of interest. The attempt might rouse a spirit of resentment, which might reach beyond the sacrifice of a minister. As to the debt upon the civil list, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict enquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer to think of some better expedient than a lottery.

* The public debt at the conclusion of the Peace in 1763, amounted to £148,377,618. EDIT.

To support an expensive war, or in circumstances of absolute necessity, a lottery may perhaps be allowable; but, besides that it is at all times the very worst way of raising money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the Royal dignity to have the debts of a King provided for, like the repairs of a country bridge, or a decayed hospital. The management of the King's affairs in the House of Commons cannot be more disgraced than it has been. A leading minister repeatedly called down for absolute ignorance;—ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn;—deliberate plans disconcerted*, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some, though not adequate, idea of Lord North's parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet before he had the misfortune of being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was neither an object of derision to his enemies, nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A series of inconsistent measures had alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and at the same time of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire, which had benefited most by the expenses of the war, should contribute something to the expenses of the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise that contribution. But, unfortunately for his country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was minister, and Mr. Pitt† and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declarations gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other.

Under one administration the stamp act is made; under

* This happened frequently to poor Lord North.

† Yet JUNIUS has been called the partizan of Lord Chatham!

the second it is repealed; under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of Hillsborough called forth, at a most critical season, to govern America*. The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his dispatches as far as they have appeared, let his measures as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former we have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures, let it be remembered, that he was called upon to conciliate and unite; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition†, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question, if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional, an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force

* Upon the death of Queen Anne a third secretaryship, antecedently unknown to the constitution, was created, professing to be for the superintendence of Scotland, which terminated upon the cessation of the rebellion. In 1768, for the purpose of finding a post for the Earl of Hillsborough, the office of third Secretary was revived; and Scotland having no peculiar demand for his talents, he was denominated Secretary for America. For the rest see our author's preceding letters, subscribed *Atticus* and *Lucius*, in the Miscellaneous Collection. EDIT.

† That they should retract one of their resolutions, and erase the entry of it.

may perhaps be spared to support the Earl of Hillsborough's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismissal of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, compared to a late disposition of the secretary's office. Lord Rochford was acquainted with the affairs and temper of the southern courts: Lord Weymouth was equally qualified for either department*. By what unaccountable caprice has it happened, that the latter, who pretends to no experience whatsoever, is removed to the most important of the two departments, and the former by preference placed in an office, where his experience can be of no use to him? Lord Weymouth had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited, if not judicious conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties, in the service of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor the furious spirit of the house of Bedford: No, Sir, when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate, on which, for aught he knew, the lives of thousands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported by the best of his judgment.

It has lately been a fashion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generosity of the Commander in Chief†, at the

* It was pretended that the Earl of Rochford, while ambassador in France, had quarrelled with the duke of Choiseuil, and that therefore he was appointed to the Northern department, out of compliment to the French minister.

† The late Lord Granby.

expençe of his understanding. They who love him least make no question of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his disposition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total absence of all feeling and reflection can make him, let us see what sort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character. If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments; to provide, at the public expence, for every creature that bears the name of Manners; and, neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependants, the present Commander in Chief is the most generous man alive. Nature has been sparing of her gifts to this noble lord; but where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independence of a man of spirit, not the servile, humiliating complaisance of a courtier. As to the goodness of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refusing, what conclusion shall we draw from the indecency of never performing? And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of Commander in Chief to a broker of commissions?

With respect to the navy, I shall only say, that this country is so highly indebted to Sir Edward Hawke, that no expence should be spared to secure to him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that questions of private right and wrong are justly decided, nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniary corruption. Jefferies himself, when the court had no interest, was an upright judge. A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community. A judge under the influence of government, may be honest enough in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim

is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentment of a court to be gratified.

These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whether those measures are supported openly by the power of government, or masked under the forms of a court of justice. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way, which the real spirit of the laws will not justify*. The facts, on which these remarks are founded, are too notorious to require an application.

This, Sir, is the detail. In one view behold a nation overwhelmed with debt; her revenues wasted; her trade declining; the affections of her colonies alienated; the duty of the magistrate transferred to the soldiery; a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but against their fellow subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit; and, in the last instance, the administration of justice become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable scene admits but of one addition—that we are governed by counsels, from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death.

If, by the immediate interposition of Providence, it were possible for us to escape a crisis so full of terror and despair, posterity will not believe the history of the present times. They will either conclude that our distresses were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wisdom: they will not believe it possible that their ancestors could have survived, or re-

* Mr. Wilkes. EDIT.

covered from so desperate a condition, while a Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister, a Lord North Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Weymouth and a Hillsborough Secretaries of State, a Granby Commander in Chief, and a Mansfield chief criminal judge of the kingdom.

JUNIUS.

LETTER II.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

26 January, 1769.

THE kingdom swarms with such numbers of felonious robbers of private character and virtue, that no honest or good man is safe; especially as these cowardly, base assassins stab in the dark, without having the courage to sign their real names to their malevolent and wicked productions. A writer, who signs himself JUNIUS, in the Public Advertiser of the 21st instant, opens the deplorable situation of this country in a very affecting manner; with a pompous parade of his candour and decency, he tells us, that we see dissensions in all parts of the empire, an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, and a total loss of respect towards us in the eyes of foreign powers. But this writer, with all his boasted candour, has not told us the real cause of the evils he so pathetically enumerates. I shall take the liberty to explain the cause for him. JUNIUS, and such writers as himself, occasion all the mischief complained of, by falsely and maliciously traducing the best characters in the kingdom. For when our deluded people at home, and foreigners abroad, read the poisonous and inflammatory libels that are daily published with impunity, to vilify those who are any way distinguished by their good qualities and eminent virtues; when they find no notice taken of, or reply given to these slanderous tongues and pens, their conclusion is, that both the ministers and the nation have been fairly described; and they act accordingly. I think it therefore the duty of every good citizen to stand forth, and endeavour to unde-

ceive the public, when the vilest arts are made use of to defame and blacken the brightest characters among us. An eminent author affirms it to be almost as criminal to hear a worthy man traduced, without attempting his justification, as to be the author of the calumny against him. For my own part, I think it a sort of misprision of treason against society. No man therefore who knows Lord Granby, can possibly hear so good and great a character most vilely abused, without a warm and just indignation against this JUNIUS, this high-priest of envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, who has endeavoured to sacrifice our beloved commander in chief at the altars of his horrid deities. Nor is the injury done to his lordship alone, but to the whole nation, which may too soon feel the contempt, and consequently the attacks of our late enemies, if they can be induced to believe that the person on whom the safety of these kingdoms so much depends, is unequal to his high station, and destitute of those qualities which form a good general. One would have thought that his lordship's service in the cause of his country, from the battle of Culloden to his most glorious conclusion of the late war, might have entitled him to common respect and decency at least; but this uncandid, indecent writer has gone so far as to turn one of the most amiable men of the age into a stupid, unfeeling, and senseless being; possessed indeed of a personal courage, but void of those essential qualities which distinguish the commander from the common soldier.

A very long, uninterrupted, impartial, I will add, a most disinterested friendship with Lord Granby, gives me the right to affirm, that all JUNIUS's assertions are false and scandalous. Lord Granby's courage, though of the brightest and most ardent kind, is among the lowest of his numerous good qualities; he was formed to excel in war by nature's liberality to his mind as well as person. Educated and instructed by his most noble father, and a most spirited as well as excellent scholar, the present bishop of Bangor*, he was trained to the nicest sense of honour, and to the truest and no-

* Dr. John Ewer. EDIT.

blest sort of pride, that of never doing or suffering a mean action. A sincere love and attachment to his king and country, and to their glory, first impelled him to the field, where he never gained aught but honour. He impaired, through his bounty, his own fortune; for his bounty, which this writer would in vain depreciate, is founded upon the noblest of the human affections, it flows from a heart melting to goodness from the most refined humanity. Can a man, who is described as unfeeling, and void of reflection, be constantly employed in seeking proper objects on whom to exercise those glorious virtues of compassion and generosity? The distressed officer, the soldier, the widow, the orphan, and a long list besides, know that vanity has no share in his frequent donations; he gives, because he feels their distresses. Nor has he ever been rapacious with one hand to be bountiful with the other; yet this uncandid JUNIUS would insinuate, that the dignity of the commander in chief is depraved into the base office of a commission broker; that is, Lord Granby bargains for the sale of commissions; for it must have this meaning, if it has any at all. But where is the man living who can justly charge his lordship with such mean practices? Why does not JUNIUS produce him? JUNIUS knows that he has no other means of wounding this hero, than from some missile weapon, shot from an obscure corner: He seeks, as all such defamatory writers do,

———— spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas ————

to raise suspicion in the minds of the people. But I hope that my countrymen will be no longer imposed upon by artful and designing men, or by wretches, who, bankrupts in business, in fame, and in fortune, mean nothing more than to involve this country in the same common ruin with themselves. Hence it is, that they are constantly aiming their dark and too often fatal weapons against those who stand forth as the bulwark of our national safety. Lord Granby was too conspicuous a mark not to be their object. He is next attacked for being unfaithful to his promises and engagements: Where are JUNIUS's proofs? Although I could give some instances,

where a breach of promise would be a virtue, especially in the case of those who would pervert the open, unsuspecting moments of convivial mirth, into sly, insidious applications for preferment, or party systems, and would endeavour to surprise a good man, who cannot bear to see any one leave him dissatisfied, into unguarded promises. Lord Granby's attention to his own family and relations is called selfish. Had he not attended to them, when fair and just opportunities presented themselves, I should have thought him unfeeling, and void of reflection indeed. How are any man's friends or relations to be provided for, but from the influence and protection of the patron? It is unfair to suppose that Lord Granby's friends have not as much merit as the friends of any other great man: If he is generous at the public expence, as JUNIUS invidiously calls it, the public is at no more expence for his lordship's friends, than it would be if any other set of men possessed those offices. The charge is ridiculous!

The last charge against Lord Granby is of a most serious and alarming nature indeed. JUNIUS asserts, that the army is mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit. The present condition of the army gives the directest lie to his assertions. It was never upon a more respectable footing with regard to discipline, and all the essentials that can form good soldiers. Lord Ligonier delivered a firm and noble palladium of our safeties into Lord Granby's hands, who has kept it in the same good order in which he received it. The strictest care has been taken to fill up the vacant commissions, with such gentlemen as have the glory of their ancestors to support, as well as their own, and are doubly bound to the cause of their king and country, from motives of private property, as well as public spirit. The adjutant-general*, who has the immediate care of the troops after Lord Granby, is an officer who would do great honour to any service in Europe, for his correct arrangements, good sense and discernment upon all occasions, and for a punctuality and precision which give the most en-

* Harvey. EDIT.

tire satisfaction to all who are obliged to consult him. The reviewing generals, who inspect the army twice a year, have been selected with the greatest care, and have answered the important trust reposed in them in the most laudable manner. Their reports of the condition of the army are much more to be credited than those of JUNIUS, whom I do advise to atone for his shameful aspersions, by asking pardon of Lord Granby, and the whole kingdom, whom he has offended by his' abominable scandals. In short, to turn JUNIUS's own battery against him, I must assert, in his own words, "that he has given strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation."

WILLIAM DRAPER*.

* As a correspondent of JUNIUS in this and several other letters, the following short notice of Sir William Draper cannot be unacceptable to the reader. We take it by Mr. Chalmers's permission from his Appendix to the Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the supposititious Shakespeare papers, p. 80.

"Sir William, as a scholar, had been bred at Eton, and King's college, Cambridge; but, he chose the sword, for his profession. In India, he ranked with those famous warriors Clive, and Laurence. In 1761, he acted at Bellisle, as a Brigadier. In 1763, he commanded the troops who conquered Manilla, which place was saved from plunder, by the promise of a ransom, that was never paid. His first appearance, as an able writer, was in his clear refutation of the objections of the Spanish court. His services were rewarded with the command of the sixteenth regiment of foot, which he resigned to Colonel Gisborne, for his half-pay of 200*l*. Irish: This common transaction furnished JUNIUS with many a sarcasm. Sir William had scarcely closed his contest with that formidable opponent, when he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who died on the 1st of September, 1769. As he was foiled, he was, no doubt, mortified. And he set out, in October of that year, to make the tour of the Northern Colonies, which had now become objects of notice, and scenes of travel. He arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, in January, 1770; and travelling northward, he arrived, during the summer of that year, in Maryland; where he was received with that hospitality which she always paid to strangers, and with the attentions, that were due to the merit of such a visitor.

"From Maryland, Sir William passed on to New York, where he married Miss De Lancy, a lady of great connections there, and agreeable endowments, who died in 1778; leaving him a daughter. In 1779, he was appointed Lieutenant-governor of Minorca; a trust, which, however discharged, ended unhappily. He died at Bath, on the 8th of January, 1787."

—EDIT.

LETTER III.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

SIR,

7 February, 1769.

THE defence of Lord Granby does honour to the goodness of your heart. You feel, as you ought to do, for the reputation of your friend, and you express yourself in the warmest language of the passions. In any other cause, I doubt not, you would have cautiously weighed the consequences of committing your name to the licentious discourses and malignant opinions of the world. But here, I presume, you thought it would be a breach of friendship to lose one moment in consulting your understanding; as if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *coup de main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow, but the dictates of his courage. Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you; and, far from resenting those terms of reproach, which, considering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to the account of an honest unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeness had no concern. I approve of the spirit with which you have given your name to the public; and, if it were a proof of any thing but spirit, I should have thought myself bound to follow your example. I should have hoped that even *my* name might carry some authority with it*, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature of Sir William Draper.

You begin with a general assertion, that writers, such as I am, are the real cause of all the public evils we complain of. And do you really think, Sir William, that the licentious

* This expression will receive some farther light from a feature of himself incidentally introduced by the author in a letter omitted in his own edition, but inserted in the present work, Miscellaneous Letter, No. LIV. as also from other views of his sentiments and conduct as casually evinced in the Private Letters. EDIT.

pen of a political writer is able to produce such important effects? A little calm reflection might have shewn you, that national calamities do not arise from the description, but from the real character and conduct of ministers. To have supported your assertion, you should have proved that the present ministry are unquestionably the *best and brightest* characters of the kingdom: and that, if the affections of the colonies have been alienated, if Corsica* has been shamefully abandoned, if commerce languishes, if public credit is threatened with a new debt, and your own Manilla ransom most dishonourably given up†, it has all been owing to the

* Corsica, in modern times, was first subjugated by the Genoese, who made use of so much insolence and oppression, as to induce the natives to throw off the yoke, and endeavour to recover their independence. The contest was long and severe, and the Corsicans were reduced to beggary in the generous struggle. Nieuhoff and Paoli chiefly figured as leaders of the Corsicans, the first of whom was actually elected king, but could not maintain his throne against the invaders. The Corsicans applied to many foreign courts for assistance, and among the rest to Great Britain; and Lord Shelburne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdown) was one of the warmest supporters of their cause, and most desirous, when in administration, to engage in it. But his colleagues opposed him, and the cause of Corsica was abandoned, though the citizens of London contributed largely to its support. Yet the Genoese could not totally subdue it; and in consequence they sold it to France to be subdued by the French arms: and the tyranny which was at first exercised over it by the Genoese, it was now doomed to suffer from the French. Reader, mark the result!—Corsica is at this moment reaping an ample revenge: for through the medium of Bonaparte she is now loading both France and Genoa with as severe a tyranny as herself ever submitted to from either. EDIT.

† In the preceding war with Spain, Sir William (then Col. Draper) had commanded an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the Philippine Isles. It succeeded completely; and the capital of Manilla was taken by assault. Yet the generous conquerors, instead of plundering the city, consented to accept for the value of the spoil, bills drawn upon the Spanish government adequate to its supposed amount. These bills the Spanish government undertook to pay, but dishonourably forfeited its word on their becoming due. Sir William Draper, on his return from India, repeatedly pressed the English minister to interpose upon the subject, on behalf of himself and his fellow-soldiers. The English minister however did not interpose: Draper was personally rewarded by an election into the order of the Bath, in conjunction with certain pecuniary emoluments referred to in this correspondence; while his colleague, Admiral Cornish, together with the soldiers and sailors under their commands were suffered to live and die altogether without redress. EDIT.

malice of political writers, who will not suffer the best and brightest of characters (meaning still the present ministry) to take a single right step for the honour or interest of the nation. But it seems you were a little tender of coming to particulars. Your conscience insinuated to you, that it would be prudent to leave the characters of Grafton, North, Hillsborough, Weymouth, and Mansfield, to shift for themselves; and truly, Sir William, the part you *have* undertaken is at least as much as you are equal to.

Without disputing Lord Granby's courage, we are yet to learn in what articles of military knowledge nature has been so very liberal to his mind. If you have served with him, you ought to have pointed out some instances of able disposition and well-concerted enterprize, which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a general. It is you, Sir William, who make your friend appear awkward and ridiculous, by giving him a laced suit of tawdry qualifications, which nature never intended him to wear.

You say, he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the Ordnance nothing? Are the Blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got these *nothings* I know not; but you at least ought to have told us where he deserved them.

As to his bounty, compassion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpose, though you had proved all that you have asserted. I meddle with nothing but his character as commander in chief; and though I acquit him of the baseness of selling commissions, I still assert that his military cares have never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies; and I am justified by the complaints of the whole army, when I say that, in this distribution, he consults nothing but parliamentary interests, or the gratification of his immediate dependants. As to his servile submission to the reigning ministry, let me ask, whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army, when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed*, and what share he had in recalling that officer to

* See upon this subject our author's Miscellaneous Letters subscribed Lucius, and particularly that of Atticus, Letter LI. EDIT.

the service? Did he not betray the just interests of the army, in permitting Lord Percy to have a regiment? And does he not at this moment give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes?

In the two next articles I think we are agreed. You candidly admit, that he often makes such promises as it is a virtue in him to violate, and that no man is more assiduous to provide for his relations at the public expence. I did not urge the last as an absolute vice in his disposition, but to prove that a *careless disinterested spirit* is no part of his character; and as to the other, I desire it may be remembered, that *I* never descended to the indecency of inquiring into his *convivial hours*. It is you, Sir William Draper, who have taken pains to represent your friend in the character of a drunken landlord, who deals out his promises as liberally as his liquor, and will suffer no man to leave his table either sorrowful or sober. None but an intimate friend, who must frequently have seen him in these unhappy, disgraceful moments, could have described him so well.

The last charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that, in this article, your first fact is false; and as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that, in your future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army (which you, in classical language, are pleased to call a palladium) into Lord Granby's hands. It was taken from him much against his inclination, some two or three years before Lord Granby was commander in chief. As to the state of the army, I should be glad to know where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton? The reports of reviewing generals comprehend only a few regiments in England, which, as they are immediately under the royal inspection, are perhaps in some tolerable order. But do you know any

thing of the troops in the West-Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to say nothing of a whole army absolutely ruined in Ireland? Inquire a little into facts, Sir William, before you publish your next panegyric upon Lord Granby, and believe me, you will find there is a fault at head-quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the adjutant-general cannot correct.*

Permit me now, Sir William, to address myself personally to you, by way of thanks for the honour of your correspondence. You are by no means undeserving of notice; and it may be of consequence even to Lord Granby to have it determined, whether or no the man who has praised him so lavishly, be himself deserving of praise. When you returned to Europe, you zealously undertook the cause of that gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla your own fortune had been established. You complained, you threatened, you even appealed to the public in print. By what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? Did the ministry suggest any motives to you, strong enough to tempt a man of honour, to desert and betray the cause of his fellow-soldiers? Was it that blushing ribband, which is now the perpetual ornament of your person? Or was it that regiment, which you afterwards (a thing unprecedented among soldiers) sold to colonel Gisborne? Or was it that government, the full pay of which you are contented to hold, with the half-pay of an Irish colonel? And do you now, after a retreat not very like that of Scipio, presume to intrude yourself, unthought-of, uncalled-for, upon the patience of the public? Are your flatteries of the commander in chief directed to another regiment, which you may again dispose of on the same honourable terms? We know your prudence, Sir William, and I should be sorry to stop your preferment.

JUNIUS.

* Adjutant General Harvey. EDIT.

LETTER IV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

17 February, 1769.

I RECEIVED JUNIUS's favour last night; he is determined to keep his advantage by the help of his mask; it is an excellent protection, it has saved many a man from an untimely end. But whenever he will be honest enough to lay it aside, avow himself, and produce the face which has so long lurked behind it, the world will be able to judge of his motives for writing such infamous invectives. His real name will discover his freedom and independency, or his servility to a faction. Disappointed ambition, resentment for defeated hopes, and desire of revenge, assume but too often the appearance of public spirit; but be his designs wicked or charitable, JUNIUS should learn that it is possible to condemn measures, without a barbarous and criminal outrage against men. JUNIUS delights to mangle carcasses with a hatchet; his language and instrument have a great connexion with Claremarket, and, to do him justice, he handles his weapon most admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the savages of America. It is therefore high time for me to step in once more to shield my friend from this merciless weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I must first ask JUNIUS, by what forced analogy and construction the moments of convivial mirth are made to signify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a desire that every one in company should be drunk likewise*? He must have culled all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate to have produced such a piece of

* Whether such a conclusion were forced or natural from Sir William's description of his friend, JUNIUS, it seems, was not the only person who deduced it, if we may judge from a dispute the Knight of the Bath was involved in upon this very subject, with two other invisible correspondents, of whom the one signed himself Neocles, and the other the Ghost, and who wrote in the same newspaper (The Public Advertiser). To the first correspondent, Sir William replies as follows.

SIR,

oratory. Here the hatchet descends with tenfold vengeance; but, alas! it hurts no one but its master! For JUNIUS must not think to put words into my mouth, that seem too foul even for his own.

SIR,

Clifton, Feb. 13, 1769.

I must beg the favour of *Neocles* not to believe that I have described my friend to be frequently in a state of ebriety. Had I done so, I might indeed be justly accused of being insufficient to support his cause.

* * * * *

If *Neocles* is an officer, or a man of business, he must know that a commander in chief, or a minister of state, from a multiplicity of applications, cannot trust their memories with the whole of them: minutes and memorandums are necessary: when business is over, these are left with their secretaries, or in their bureaus. Should therefore any insidious man, either at dinner, or after dinner, importune a great person to give him some preferment, which, from the want of these minutes, he might not then recollect to be engaged, and thus obtain a promise of it; yet, if it should appear from the inspection of these memorandums afterwards, that such preferment was pre-engaged, I must again repeat, that in such a case it would be a virtue to break the unguarded promise made at dinner, or in convivial mirth, and to adhere to the first engagement. These things have happened, do happen, and may happen again, to the most temperate men living.

I am

Neocles most humble servant,

W. D.

The fact is, that Lord Granby, and his friend Sir William, appear to have been both jolly companions. Mr. Campbell says of the latter—that his favorite wine was Burgundy—the bewitching smiles of which had an irresistible influence on his heart. Life of Boyd, p. 186. JUNIUS seems to have appealed to a known fact, as well as to an unguarded expression of the pen. Sir William's answer to the Ghost occurs in the same newspaper, Mar. 2, 1769.

SIR,

Clifton, Feb. 24.

“Sir W. D. presents his compliments to the Ghost, and hopes, that when he shall please to revisit us, the cock may not crow too suddenly, and warn him hence, before he has sufficiently considered what Sir W. says with regard to anonymous writers. They are not condemned by him merely for being anonymous, but as they are defamatory and wicked; as they act as incendiaries, as they *privily* shoot at those who are *true of heart*, and as they basely *stab* in the *dark*. When they are thus guilty, they are worthy of the severest censures. A very fine writer, Mr. Addison, has not stuck to rank them with murderers and assassins. It were to be wished, that all such writers would read the paper upon this subject, No. 451, vol. 6. Sir W. hopes likewise, that the Ghost will not believe that flattery, or gladiatorial

My friend's political engagements I know not, so cannot pretend to explain them, or assert their consistency. I know not whether JUNIUS be considerable enough to belong to any party; if he should be so, can he affirm that he has always

torial vanity, or any desire of the golden cup, or its contents, called him forth.

"He stood forth upon a principle that no honest man should be ashamed of, upon the principle of Horace, who nobly and truly said,

———— *Amicum*

Qui non defendit alio culpante—Hic niger est;

more especially when that friend is most unjustly attacked. He thinks that a real signature is better than a fictitious one, as the knowledge of the man is the surest guide to form a judgment of his motives for writing. He has indeed the *vanity* to think that no man living writes from more *disinterested* motives than himself, having studiously quitted what is called *the great world*, and all its *pursuits*. But he is not so totally lost to the sense of worldly knowledge, as not to foresee that the many distractions of this poor afflicted country must end in its ruin if some salutary means are not speedily taken to prevent it. This kingdom abounds with great men, capable of advising and of acting in the most efficacious manner for the *public good*; but unanimity must be the basis. If they can be prevailed upon to *forgive*, to *forget*, to *unite*, sincerely, there is no occasion to *despair* of the commonwealth. Sir W. cannot subscribe to the Ghost's opinion, that the *vox populi* is the *vox Dei*. It would be too irreverent, it would vainly attempt to convert the immutable Deity into a most changeable and capricious being; nor would he *take even the Ghost's word*, or that of the greatest lawyer in the kingdom, should he affirm it. The voice of the people was heard loudly and strongly in favour of our great minister, Mr. Pitt. In this one instance it was just; but was it formerly less strong, less loud, in the favour of Titus Oates, the most abandoned of men? the voice of the people, and the voice of truth, are not always together: the *latter* must *descend* from *above*, the former but too often arises from *below*. In plain English, it generally comes out of the barrel and the cellar, as some honest bottle-men know full well."

In the following letter, inserted in the Public Advertiser about the same time, Lord Granby appears to have found a fuller, if not an abler advocate, than even his friend Sir William. It has various claims for an introduction in the present place; but chiefly, because JUNIUS himself, in a postscript to the last letter (inserted in the copy that appeared in the Public Advertiser, but omitted in his own edition) notices it with a view of answering it; although from a second resolution, not to reply under this signature to anonymous addresses, he never fulfilled his intention. The postscript is as follows:

"I had determined to leave the commander in chief in the quiet enjoyment of his friend and his bottle; but Titus deserves an answer, and *shall have a complete one.*"

adhered to one set of men and measures? Is he sure that he has never sided with those whom he was first hired to abuse? Has he never abused those he was hired to praise? To say the truth, most men's politics sit much too loosely about

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

LONG and impatiently have I waited to see justice done to a much injured character. From the goodness of the cause, my expectations were great, but I have been cruelly disappointed. To enter the lists against such an able antagonist upon equal terms, would be the height of presumption; but truth, plainly and simply told, I doubt not, will shew itself superior to falsehood, though dressed in the most beautiful language of the elegant JUNIUS.

Unprejudiced by party, unbiassed by faction, it grieves me exceedingly, that a spirit of licentiousness should be able so far to influence some of the greatest geniuses of this nation. Is it possible to see without concern some of the most respectable names, and the most unexceptionable characters, so undeservedly attacked, and detraction conveyed in the most persuasive language, from the masterly pen of an accomplished writer? When every man of superior talents ought to exert himself to the utmost to support the dignity of government, how unfortunate is it that the greatest abilities are made subservient to a factious spirit, totally subversive of all the principles of social happiness! But the times are become so unparadoxably licentious, that the greater the name, the higher the rank, the more dignified the character, and the more exalted the station, the more they become objects of envy, while the envenomed darts of illiberal abuse are pointed by the sons of sedition from every quarter, with unparalleled malice and unrelenting fury.

Subordination and subjection is the province of some; superiority and command undoubtedly belongs to the station of others. Obedience to the laws, respect for the magistrate, and duty to superiors, are essentially necessary in every well governed state. Every attempt then to make the laws, or the magistrate, be less respected, and every endeavour to break the chain of subordination, so necessary in civil society, tends to the destruction of government, and to the introduction of anarchy and confusion.

That factious, turbulent, licentious minds, should make this their constant employment, is not to be wondered at; but people of sense, judgment, and abilities, to make it their study, is amazing indeed!—What end can it answer? What purpose can it serve? If our superiors should do any thing contrary to the laws, or prejudicial to the interests of this country; if they should use any means to encroach upon our liberties, to deprive us of our privileges, or to subvert that happy form of government which we now enjoy; surely there are other means of redress left, besides calumniating magistrates, judges, generals and ministers. Though party preju-

dice,

them. But as my friend's military character was the chief object that engaged me in this controversy, to that I shall return.

JUNIUS asks what instances my friend has given of his

dice, and the influence of passion, may carry even men of sense to extraordinary lengths sometimes, yet I am convinced, that a cool dispassionate moment's reflection, will point out more constitutional remedies for all our misfortunes, than a factious appeal to a giddy, unthinking, uninformed mob: and very little demonstration will be necessary to make it evident, that the unbounded abuse of dignities tends to make the bulk of the people trample on all law, despise subordination, and destroy that government from which they claim protection.

JUNIUS is possessed of superior abilities; he has a flow of fine language at his command, his composition is masterly, his stile elegant, and the arrangement of his words is beautiful and harmonious. What excellent purposes might these talents serve, were they employed for the service of his country! What a pity they should be prostituted to depreciate government, and made subservient to such unphilosophic passions! unworthy of the man—unworthy of the pen of the accomplished JUNIUS!—Not one of the king's servants escapes him; but (for what cause heaven knows) his most pointed shafts have been directed against the Commander in Chief, who is, perhaps, the most unexceptionable character in the present administration. I was in hopes Sir W. Draper would have continued a defence so worthy of his abilities; but I imagine he is so busy at present about building his temple to Concord, and perhaps so taken up with his new friend, Mr. Wilkes, that he has forgot the correspondence he gave rise to, where Lord Granby is attacked in a most unpardonable manner; where he has been insulted as a soldier, despised as a general, his generosity laughed at, and even his private hours of social relaxation have been most ungenerously held up as an object of ridicule to the public eye.—For shame, JUNIUS!—this was not well done.—Whatever censure may be due to a man's public character, it is unmanly—it is cruel—it is unjust, to bring the secrets of social amusement, and the unguarded hour of convivial enjoyment, to be held out as an object of censure to the unfriendly world!—Have you a spark of generosity left, JUNIUS! and can you read this without a blush?

My Lord Granby's character, as a man, as a soldier, and even as a general, will stand the test. The honesty of his heart, the integrity of his intentions, his intrepidity as a soldier, and his conduct as an officer, are unimpeached. It is true, his talents as Commander in Chief have never been tried in the field; but if we may be allowed to judge from the whole of his conduct during the late war in Germany, where the execution of many important enterprises were entrusted to him by one of the greatest generals, and one of the best judges of military merit in Europe, we may form great expectations, with the highest probability of not being disappointed.

military skill and capacity as a general? When and where he gained his honour? When he deserved his emoluments? The united voice of the army which served under him, the glorious testimony of Prince Ferdinand, and of vanquished

ed.—*He knows how to obey*; he knows that a good soldier *never disputes the commands* of his superior. He always discharged his duty to the satisfaction of Duke Ferdinand, whose approbation, thanks, and acknowledgments he repeatedly obtained. Wherever he was employed, he gained honour to himself—he was beloved and esteemed by the army under his command—he was honoured and respected by the enemy—dear to the victors! generous to the vanquished! You know, JUNIUS, that he *feared not to lead on the cavalry* at Minden. He gained glory and honour at Warburg. It was the corps under his command who fought and gained the battle of Phillinghausen. He was principally concerned, and acted as became the soldier and general at Wilhelmstahl. And towards the end of the war, when the army was so situated, that if a rising ground on the left had been taken possession of by the French, it might have been attended with the worst consequences; and when the generals destined to lead a corps to occupy it, declared the service impracticable, my Lord Granby arose from a sick-bed, in the middle of the night, assumed the command of the corps, marched, with a fever upon him, in an inclement season, took possession of the post, and secured the army.—This did the soldier!

Is it necessary to ask where my Lord deserved every thing he has got after this? These are but few instances, among many others, where his Lordship acquired unfading laurels. But after all, what are the posts—what are the employments of trust and profit which he has centered in himself and family, since he became Commander in Chief? He is at the head of the army without pay; one of the name of Manners has been promoted from half-pay to a troop, and another he has appointed his aid-de-camp: and those of his friends, who have been distinguished by royal favour, are so eminent in their profession, that hitherto the tongue of malice has not dared to move against them. His own employments are marks of royal favour and confidence, the consequence of long and faithful services.—These were not acquired by factious conduct, or licentious scribbling: no, Sir, he, like every man of honour, would disdain to be distinguished by such inglorious means.

Well do you know, JUNIUS, that it would have been in vain for my Lord Granby to have opposed the nomination of my Lord Percy; and you know as well, that this is not the first time ministerial influence has been too powerful for a military commander. It is equally ungenerous and unjust therefore, to say that he has betrayed the interests of the army. It is well known, that the general condition of the army is better, much better, at present, than it has been for many years, even in America, and the garrisons abroad: your information therefore is ill founded in this point; but the truth

enemies, all Germany will tell him. JUNIUS repeats the complaints of the army against parliamentary influence. I love the army too well, not to wish that such influence were less. Let JUNIUS point out the time when it has not prevailed. It was of the least force in the time of that great man, the late Duke of Cumberland, who, as a prince of the blood, was able as well as willing to stem a torrent which would have overborne any private subject. In time of war this influence is small. In peace, when discontent and faction have the surest means to operate, especially in this country, and when, from a scarcity of public spirit, the wheels of government are rarely

truth is, JUNIUS is no friend to Lord Granby, and is willing to believe, and ready to propagate every infamous report to his disadvantage.

My Lord Granby's generosity, Sir, knows no bounds; but it is directed to much nobler objects than you would endeavour to insinuate. Often have I seen his generous hand stretched out to supply the wants of the needy soldier; nor did the meanest follower of the camp go hungry from his door. His house was open equally to British and foreigners: his table was hospitality itself, and his generous, open countenance gave a hearty welcome to all his guests. Hence harmony reigned through the whole army, disputes had no existence, and officers of different nations emulated the social virtues of the British chief. By such means he gained the hearts of all the army; they followed him with confidence, and fought under him from attachment. No danger was too much—no attempt too daring, under his command. Whatever JUNIUS may think (though he may, for aught I know, be *perfectly unacquainted with them himself*) the gaining the affections of the soldiers will always be esteemed no mean qualification in a general.

My Lord Granby has his foibles and weaknesses, no doubt of it; so has every man. Is there one on earth perfect? But to expose these foibles and weaknesses with all the power of persuasive language, while you conceal, slightly pass over, or endeavour to ridicule those shining parts of his character, those eminent virtues which *you cannot imitate*, it is ungenerous, and very unlike the gentleman.

You will forgive me I hope, Mr. Printer, for troubling you with an epistle of such an amazing length; but I hope you will think with me, that the subject required it. I acknowledge myself very unequal to speak of my Lord as he deserves; but I have attempted this much, from an opinion that when such an unexceptionable character is attacked, the defence becomes a public concern. It matters not, whether the malicious dart be pointed from the closet courage of a disgraced soldier, the oratorical powers of a disappointed dependant politician, or from the mad ravings of a lunatic adventurer; the sensible, unprejudiced part of mankind will see their infamous motives, and they will alike despise the illiberal production and the ungenerous author. TITUS.

moved, but by the power and force of obligations, its weight is always too great. Yet, if this influence at present has done no greater harm than the placing Earl Percy at the head of a regiment, I do not think that either the rights or best interests of the army are sacrificed and betrayed, or the nation undone. Let me ask JUNIUS, if he knows any one nobleman in the army, who has had a regiment by seniority? I feel myself happy in seeing young noblemen of illustrious name and great property come among us. They are an additional security to the kingdom from foreign or domestic slavery. JUNIUS needs not be told, that should the time ever come, when this nation is to be defended only by those, who have nothing more to lose than their arms and their pay, its danger will be great indeed. A happy mixture of men of quality with soldiers of fortune is always to be wished for. But the main point is still to be contended for, I mean the discipline and condition of the army, and I still must maintain, though contradicted by JUNIUS, that it was never upon a more respectable footing, as to all the essentials that can form good soldiers, than it is at present. JUNIUS is forced to allow that our army at home may be in some tolerable order; yet how kindly does he invite our late enemies to the invasion of Ireland, by assuring them that the army in that kingdom is totally ruined! (The colonels of that army are much obliged to him.) I have too great an opinion of the military talents of the lord-lieutenant, and of their diligence and capacity, to believe it. If from some strange, unaccountable fatality, the people of that kingdom cannot be induced to consult their own security, by such an effectual augmentation, as may enable the troops there to act with power and energy, is the commander in chief here to blame? Or is he to blame, because the troops in the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties from the scarcity of men, which is but too visible all over these kingdoms! Many of our forces are in climates unfavourable to British constitutions: their loss is in proportion. Britain must recruit all these regiments from her own emaciated bosom, or, more precariously, by Catholics from Ireland. We are like-

wise subject to the fatal drains to the East Indies, to Senegal, and the alarming emigrations of our people to other countries: Such depopulation can only be repaired by a long peace, or by some sensible bill of naturalization.

I must now take the liberty to talk to JUNIUS on my own account. He is pleased to tell me that he addresses himself to me *personally*. I shall be glad to see him. It is his *impersonality* that I complain of, and his invisible attacks; for his dagger in the air is only to be regarded, because one cannot see the hand which holds it; but had he not wounded other people more deeply than myself, I should not have obtruded myself at all on the patience of the public.

Mark how a plain tale shall put him down, and transfuse the blush of my ribband into his own cheeks. JUNIUS tells me, that at my return, I zealously undertook the cause of the gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla my own fortunes were established; that I complained, that I even appealed to the public. I did so; I glory in having done so, as I had an undoubted right to vindicate my own character, attacked by a Spanish memorial, and to assert the rights of my brave companions. I glory likewise that I have never taken up my pen, but to vindicate the injured. JUNIUS asks by what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to the injured troops, the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? I will explain the cause to the public. The several ministers who have been employed since that time have been very desirous to do us justice from two most laudable motives, a strong inclination to assist injured bravery, and to acquire a well deserved popularity to themselves. Their efforts have been in vain. Some were ingenuous enough to own, that they could not think of involving this distressed nation into another war for our private concerns. In short, our rights for the present, are sacrificed to national convenience; and I must confess, that although I may lose five-and-twenty thousand pounds by their acquiescence to this breach of faith in the Spaniards, I think they are in the right to temporize, considering the

critical situation of this country, convulsed in every part by poison infused by anonymous, wicked, and incendiary writers. Lord Shelburne will do me the justice to own, that, in September last, I waited upon him with a joint memorial from the admiral Sir S. Cornish and myself, in behalf of our injured companions. His lordship was as frank upon the occasion as other secretaries had been before him. He did not deceive us by giving any immediate hopes of relief.

JUNIUS would basely insinuate, that my silence may have been purchased by my government, by my *blushing* ribband, by my regiment, by the sale of that regiment, and by my half-pay as an Irish colonel.

His Majesty was pleased to give me my government*, for my services at Madras. I had my first regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his Majesty, by Lord Egremont, informed me, that I should have the first vacant red ribband, as a reward for my services in an enterprize, which I had planned as well as executed. The duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville confirmed those assurances many months before the Spaniards had protested the ransom bills. To accommodate Lord Clive, then going upon a most important service to Bengal, I waved my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other vacancy until the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham were joint ministers, I was then honoured with the order, and it is surely no small honour to me, that in such a succession of ministers, they were all pleased to think that I had deserved it; in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had served so gloriously in the East Indies, his Majesty, unsolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot as an equivalent. My motives for retiring afterwards are foreign to the purpose; let it suffice, that his Majesty was pleased to approve of them; they are such as no man can think indecent, who knows the shocks that repeated vicissitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and sickly climates, will give to the best constitutions in a pretty long course of service. I resigned my regiment to Colonel Gisborne, a very good offi-

* Yarmouth. EDIT.

cer, for his half-pay, 200*l.* Irish annuity*; so that, according to JUNIUS, I have been bribed to say nothing more of the Manilla ransom, and sacrifice those brave men by the strange avarice of accepting three hundred and eighty pounds per annum, and giving up eight hundred! If this be bribery, it is not the bribery of these times. As to my flattery, those who know me will judge of it. By the asperity of JUNIUS's stile, I cannot indeed call him a flatterer, unless it be as a cynic or a mastiff; if he wags his tail, he will still growl, and long to bite. The public will now judge of the credit that ought to be given to JUNIUS's writings, from the falsities that he has insinuated with respect to myself.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

LETTER V.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

SIR,

21 February, 1769.

I SHOULD justly be suspected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to Lord Granby, if I continued to give you fresh materials or occasion for writing in his defence. Individuals who hate, and the public who despise him, have read *your* letters, Sir William, with infinitely more satisfaction than mine. Unfortunately for him, his reputation, like that unhappy country to which you refer me for his last military achievements, has suffered more by his friends

* The letter, as it appeared in the Public Advertiser, stated, by mistake, "twelve hundred pounds Irish annuity!" and the error has been hitherto propagated through every edition of JUNIUS's Letters, without a single exception. In a note addressed to the printer, however, and published in the same newspaper, Feb. 22, 1769, the mistake is announced, and corrected as follows.

SIR,

I beg the favour of you to correct the following error in my answer to JUNIUS.

Instead of 1200*l.* please to put, "and 200*l.* Irish annuity."

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

W. DRAPER.

Feb. 19.

EDIT.

than his enemies. In mercy to him, let us drop the subject. For my own part, I willingly leave it to the public to determine whether your vindication of your friend has been as able and judicious, as it was certainly well intended; and you, I think, may be satisfied with the warm acknowledgments he already owes you for making him the principal figure in a piece, in which, but for your amicable assistance, he might have passed without particular notice or distinction.

In justice to your friends, let your future labours be confined to the care of your own reputation. Your declaration, that you are happy in seeing young noblemen *come among us*, is liable to two objections. With respect to Lord Percy, it means nothing, for he was already in the army. He was aide-de-camp to the King, and had the rank of colonel. A regiment therefore could not make him a more military man, though it made him richer, and probably at the expence of some brave, deserving, friendless officer.—The other concerns yourself. After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do you presume to call yourself a soldier? The plain evidence of facts is superior to all declarations. Before you were appointed to the 16th regiment, your complaints were a distress to government;—from that moment you were silent. The conclusion is inevitable. You insinuate to us that your ill state of health obliged you to quit the service. The retirement necessary to repair a broken constitution would have been as good a reason for not accepting, as for resigning the command of a regiment. There is certainly an error of the press, or an affected obscurity in that paragraph, where you speak of your bargain with colonel Gisborne*. Instead of attempting to answer what I really do not understand, permit me to explain to the public what I really know. In exchange for your regiment, you accepted of a colonel's half-pay (at least 220*l.* a year) and an annuity of 200*l.* for your own and lady Draper's life jointly.—And is this the losing bargain, which you would

* See the error corrected in the Editor's note to the preceding Letter
EDIT.

represent to us, as if you had given up an income of 800*l.* a year for 380*l.*? Was it decent, was it honourable, in a man who pretends to love the army, and calls himself a soldier, to make a traffic of the royal favour, and turn the highest honour of an active profession into a sordid provision for himself and his family? It were unworthy of me to press you farther. The contempt with which the whole army heard of the manner of your retreat, assures me that as your conduct was not justified by precedent, it will never be thought an example for imitation.

The last and most important question remains. When you receive your half-pay, do you, or do you not, take a solemn oath, or sign a declaration upon honour, to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under his Majesty.* The charge which this question plainly conveys against you, is of so shocking a complexion, that I sincerely wish you may be able to answer it well, not merely for the colour of your reputation, but for your own inward peace of mind.

JUNIUS.

LETTER VI.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

27 February, 1769.

I HAVE a very short answer for JUNIUS's important question: I do not either take an oath, or declare upon honour, that I have no *place* of profit, *civil* or military, when I receive the half-pay as an Irish colonel. My most gracious Sovereign gives it me as a pension; he was pleased to think I deserved it. The annuity of 200*l.* Irish, and the equivalent for the half-pay together, produce no more than 380*l.* per annum, clear of fees and perquisites of office. I receive 167*l.* from my government of Yarmouth. Total 547*l.* per annum. My conscience is much at ease in these particulars; my friends need not blush for me.

JUNIUS makes much and frequent use of interrogations:

they are arms that may be easily turned against himself. I could, by malicious interrogations, disturb the peace of the most virtuous man in the kingdom; I could take the decalogue, and say to one man, Did you never steal? To the next, Did you never commit murder? And to JUNIUS himself, who is putting my life and conduct to the rack, Did you never bear false witness against thy neighbour? JUNIUS must easily see, that unless he affirms the contrary in his real name, some people who may be as ignorant of him as I am, will be apt to suspect him of having deviated a little from the truth: therefore let JUNIUS ask no more questions. You bite against a file: cease viper.

W. D.

LETTER VII.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

SIR,

3 March, 1769.

AN academical education has given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech. Masks, hatchets, racks, and vipers dance through your letters in all the mazes of metaphorical confusion. These are the gloomy companions of a disturbed imagination; the melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration. I will not contend with you in point of composition. You are a scholar, Sir William, and, if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English. Suffer me then, for I am a plain unlettered man, to continue that stile of interrogation, which suits my capacity, and to which, considering the readiness of your answers, you ought to have no objection. Even Mr. Bingley* promises to answer, if put to the torture.

* This man, being committed by the court of King's Bench for a contempt, voluntarily made oath, that he would never answer interrogatories, unless he should be put to the torture. AUTHOR.

Bingley was by trade a bookseller; and in the character here referred to, a witness for the crown, in a cause between government and Wilkes. It is difficult to say for what purpose this man was subpoenaed on either side; for his obstinacy was so extreme, that he could not be induced to answer the interrogatories addressed to him on the part either of the plaintiff

Do you then really think that, if I were to ask a *most virtuous man* whether he ever committed theft, or murder, it would disturb his peace of mind? Such a question might perhaps discompose the gravity of his muscles, but I believe it would little affect the tranquillity of his conscience. Examine your own breast, Sir William, and you will discover, that reproaches and enquiries have no power to afflict either the man of unblemished integrity, or the abandoned profligate. It is the middle compound character which alone is vulnerable: the man, who, without firmness enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has feeling enough to be ashamed of it.

I thank you for your hint of the decalogue, and shall take an opportunity of applying it to some of your *most virtuous* friends in both houses of parliament.

You seem to have dropped the affair of your regiment; so let it rest. When you are appointed to another, I dare say you will not sell it either for a gross sum, or for an annuity upon lives.

I am truly glad (for really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest with you*) that you

plaintiff or defendant. It was on this account he was committed to the King's Bench prison, where he continued as refractory as in the King's Bench court—he was at length discharged, on the motion of the attorney general, without any submission on his own part, from the mere idea that he had suffered severely enough for his contumacy.—See a further account of this transaction, JUNIUS, Letter XLI. EDIT.

* The politics of Sir William Draper were certainly not violent, and he appears to have been rather a private friend of the Marquis's than a partisan on either side of the question. The following letter, published by him in the Public Advertiser, in the very midst of his dispute with JUNIUS, is highly creditable to his liberality, and sufficiently proves the truth of the assertion of JUNIUS, that he could not be, at least upon political principles, Sir William's enemy.

TO THE PRINTER.

SIR,

Clifton, February 6th, 1769.

IF the voice of a well-meaning individual could be heard amidst the clamour, fury, and madness of the times, would it appear too rash and presumptuous to propose to the public that an act of indemnity and oblivion may be made for all past transactions and offences, as well with respect to Mr Wilkes as to our colonies? Such salutary expedients have been embraced

have been able to clear yourself of a crime, though at the expense of the highest indiscretion. You say that your half-pay was given you by way of pension. I will not dwell upon the singularity of uniting in your own person two sorts of

embraced by the wisest of nations: such expedients have been made use of by our own, when the public confusion had arrived to some very dangerous and alarming crisis; and I believe it needs not the gift of prophecy to foretel that some such crisis is now approaching. Perhaps it will be more wise and praiseworthy to make such an act immediately, in order to prevent the possibility (not to say the probability) of an insurrection at home and in our dependencies abroad, than it will be to be obliged to have recourse to one after the mischief has been done, and the kingdom has groaned under all the miseries that avarice, ambition, hypocrisy, and madness, could inflict upon it. An act of grace, indemnity, and oblivion, was passed at the restoration of King Charles the second; but I will venture to say that had such an act been seasonably passed in the reign of his unhappy father, the civil war had been prevented, and no restoration had been necessary. It is too late to recal all the messengers and edicts of wrath. Cannot the money that is now wasted in endless and mutual prosecutions, and in stopping the mouth of one person, and opening that of another, be better employed in erecting a temple to Concord? Let Mr. Wilkes lay the first stone, and such a stone as I hope the builders will not refuse. May this parliament, to use Lord Clarendon's expression, be called "The healing parliament!" May our foul wounds be cleansed and then closed! The English have been as famous for good-nature as for valour: let it not be said that such qualities are degenerated into savage ferocity. If any of my friends in either house of legislature shall condescend to listen to and improve these hints, I shall think that I have not lived in vain.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

Sir William, in return, if he ever had any personal enmity against JUNIUS, appears to have relinquished it completely a short time after the contest, if we may judge from the following anecdote given by Mr. Campbell in his life of Hugh Boyd, p. 185.

"Some months after the Letters of JUNIUS were published collectively, Boyd met Sir William Draper at the tennis court, where their acquaintance was originally formed in the year 1769, and where (being both great tennis players) they used often to meet; the conversation turning upon JUNIUS, Sir William observed, "That though JUNIUS had treated him with extreme severity, he now looked upon him as a very honest fellow; that he freely forgave him for the bitterness of his censures, and that there was no man with whom he would more gladly drink a bottle of old Burgundy." EDIT.

It has been said, and I believe truly, that it was signified to Sir William Draper, as the request of Lord Granby, that he should desist from writing in his Lordship's defence. Sir William Draper certainly drew JUNIUS

provision, which in their own nature, and in all military and parliamentary views, are incompatible; but I call upon you to justify that declaration, wherein you charge your Sovereign with having done an act in your favour, notoriously

forward to say more of Lord Granby's character, than he originally intended. He was reduced to the dilemma of either being totally silenced, or of supporting his first letter. Whether Sir William had a right to reduce him to this dilemma, or to call upon him for his name, after a voluntary attack on *his* side, are questions submitted to the candor of the public.—The death of Lord Granby was lamented by JUNIUS. He undoubtedly owed some compensations to the public, and seemed determined to acquit himself of them. In private life, he was unquestionably that good man, who, for the interest of his country, ought to have been a great one. *Bonum virum facile dixeris;—magnum libenter.* I speak of him now without partiality;—I never spoke of him with resentment. His mistakes, in public conduct, did not arise either from want of sentiment, or want of judgment, but in general from the difficulty of saying No to the bad people who surrounded him.

As for the rest, the friends of Lord Granby should remember, that he himself thought proper to condemn, retract, and disavow, by a most solemn declaration in the House of Commons, that very system of political conduct, which JUNIUS had held forth to the disapprobation of the public.—AUTHOR.

This took place January the 30th, 1770, in a committee on the state of the nation, in which the affair of the Middlesex election was particularly discussed; and on which occasion the Marquis of Granby delivered himself as follows:—

“I am sorry I am obliged to declare myself against the motion; but I cannot see what right this House can have to receive any person into it as a member except by the full choice of his constituents. It was for want of considering the nice distinction between expulsion and incapacitation that I gave my vote for the sitting of a member who was not returned in the last session of this parliament. That vote I shall always lament as the greatest misfortune of my life. I now see the Middlesex election in another light: I now see that though this House has an unquestionable and long established right to expel, yet that a right to incapacitate is lodged only in the legislature collectively. I see that I was in an error, and I am not ashamed to make this public declaration of it, and give my vote for the amendment.”

The belief of JUNIUS, “that it was signified to Sir W. D. as the request of Lord G. that he should desist from writing in his Lordship's defence,” is farther confirmed by the following notice appended to a letter on the subject of this controversy, signed Aurelius, inserted in the Public Advertiser, March 11, 1769. “We must now beg leave to drop this dispute, as the printer has received a hint that its continuance will be disagreeable.”

Sir

against law. The half-pay, both in Ireland and England, is appropriated by parliament; and if it be given to persons who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law. It would have been more decent in you to

Sir W. Draper, as far as Lord Granby was implicated, dropped the subject; though he subsequently wrote the following letter in defence of his own conduct, in which he again calls upon JUNIUS to avow himself.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

Clifton, April 24th, 1769.

A Gentleman who signed himself *An Half-pay Subaltern*, has called upon me to stand forth in the behalf of the much distressed officers now upon half-pay. He was pleased to say, that I have an effectual method of being *really* serviceable to the officers of my reduced regiment. I should have been happy in receiving, by a private letter, that gentleman's idea of relief for them; could have wished he had made use of a more agreeable mode of application than a public newspaper; as unluckily these *ill seasoned provocatives* are more apt to *disgust* than *quicken* the desire of doing good, especially when they are accompanied by invidious reflections, both rash and ill founded: at present I am quite at a loss to find out by what means a person out of parliament, who has long retired from the *great world*, and who of course has but very little influence or interest, can be of much use to those gallant and distressed gentlemen; to many of whom I have the greatest obligations; of which I have upon all occasions, made the most public and grateful acknowledgments; nor was there the smallest necessity to *wake* me in this loud manner to a remembrance of their important services, although the writer has been pleased to charge me with *forgetfulness*; as it implies ingratitude towards those by whom I have been so essentially assisted, and to whom I am so much indebted for my *good fortune*; which however is not so *great* as the gentleman imagines: he himself forgets that the Spaniards have also *forgot* to pay the ransom. If he could quicken their memory, instead of mine, the officers would be more obliged to him.

Their bravery has given me a competency, a *golden mediocrity*, but not much affluence or luxury, which is a stranger to my house as well as to my thoughts; and I here most solemnly declare (notwithstanding the *false assertions* of a JUNIUS, who has told the world that I had *sold the partners* of my victory, and then *gravely* asked me if I were not guilty of perjury) that my income is now less than when I first went to Manilla. It is true, that its being so is by my own choice: I am voluntarily upon an equivalent for half-pay; and although I would most willingly stand forth in the service of my king and country, should the necessity of the times demand my poor assistance, yet I would not again accept of any regiment whatsoever, or interfere with the pretensions of those officers, whose good fortune has been less than their merits; and I here most solemnly declare, that I never received either from the East India Company, or from the Spaniards,
directly

have called this dishonourable transaction by its true name; a job to accommodate two persons, by particular interest and management at the castle. What sense must government have had of your services, when the rewards they have given you are only a disgrace to you!

And now, Sir William, I shall take my leave of you for ever. Motives very different from any apprehension of your resentment, make it impossible you should ever know me. In truth, you have some reason to hold yourself indebted to me. From the lessons I have given you, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life. They will either teach you so to regulate your conduct, as to be able to set the most malicious inquiries at defiance; or, if that be a lost hope, they will teach you prudence enough not to attract the public attention to a character, which will only pass without censure, when it passes without observation.

JUNIUS.

LETTER VIII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

18 March, 1769.

BEFORE you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the English government, not unwillingly

directly or indirectly, any *present* or *gratification*, or any circumstance of emolument whatsoever to the amount of five shillings, during the whole course of the expedition, or afterwards, my legal prize-money excepted. The Spaniards know that I refused the sum of fifty thousand pounds offered me by the archbishop, to mitigate the terms of the ransom, and to reduce it to half a million, instead of a *whole* one: so that had I been disposed to have *basely sold* the partners of my victory, avarice herself could not have wished for a richer opportunity.

The many base insinuations, that have been of late thrown out to my disadvantage in the public papers, oblige me to have recourse to the same channel for my vindication; and flatter myself that the public will be candid enough not to impute it to arrogance, vanity, or the impertinence of egotism; and hope that as much credit will be given to the assertions of a man, who is ready to seal his testimony with his blood, as to a writer, who when repeatedly called upon to avow himself, and personally maintain his accusation, still skulks in the dark, or in the *mean* subterfuge of a mask.

W. D.

admitted by the people, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the prerogative should be placed to the account of the Minister; but that whenever an act of grace or benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit of it should be attributed to the Sovereign himself*. It was a wise doctrine, my Lord, and equally advantageous to the King and to his subjects; for while it preserved that suspicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of ministers, it tended at the same time rather to increase than to diminish their attachment to the person of their Sovereign. If there be not a fatality attending every measure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what excess of folly has it happened, that those ungracious acts, which have distinguished your administration, and which I doubt not were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong appearance of personal interest, and even of personal enmity in a quarter, where no such interest or enmity can be supposed to exist, without the highest injustice and the highest dishonour? On the other hand, by what judicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy, to which you ever advised your Sovereign, far from adding to the lustre of a character, truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal disapprobation and disgust? I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, because it is an odious one, and as your measure, my Lord Duke, because you are the minister.

As long as the trial of this chairman was depending†, it

* Les rois ne se sont réservé que les graces. Ils renvoient les condamnations vers leurs officiers. *Montesquieu.*

† The contest for the Middlesex election, in which Wilkes, though an outlaw, was four times returned through the favour of the populace, was conducted on both sides with the utmost violence and outrage. The court as well as the popular party had its committees and its hired mobs. Edward M'Quirk was one of the persons employed in the latter capacity, and how resolutely he fulfilled his office in heading one of the court mobs may be collected from his having been chiefly concerned in a fray, in which a man of the name of Clarke, belonging to the opposite mob, was killed. M'Quirk was committed to prison, and, on his trial the jury found him guilty of murder, and he was of course condemned to be executed. By the advice of the minister, however, his majesty interposed with his royal grace, and M'Quirk was pardoned. EDIT.

was natural enough that government should give him every possible encouragement and support. The honourable service for which he was hired, and the spirit with which he performed it, made common cause between your Grace and him. The minister, who by secret corruption invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom. They have the same interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do justice to your Grace's humanity, you felt for Mac Quirk as you ought to do, and if you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious denial of justice, or openly insulting the sense of the nation, you might have satisfied every duty of political friendship, without committing the honour of your Sovereign, or hazarding the reputation of his government. But when this unhappy man had been solemnly tried, convicted and condemned;—when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the simplicity of his character, was it not hazarding too much to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country*? You ought to have known that an

* *Whitehall, March 11, 1769.* His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend his royal mercy to Edward M'Quirk, found guilty of the murder of George Clarke, as appears by his royal warrant to the tenor following.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a doubt had arisen in Our Royal breast concerning the evidence of the death of George Clarke, from the representations of William Bloomfield, Esq. surgeon, and Solomon Starling, apothecary; both of whom, as has been represented to Us, attended the deceased before his death, and expressed their opinions that he did not die of the blow he received at Brentford: And whereas it appears to Us, that neither of the said persons were produced as witnesses upon the trial, though the said Solomon Starling had been examined before the coroner, and the only person called to prove that the death of the said George Clarke was occasioned by the said blow, was John Foot, surgeon, who never saw the deceased till after his death; We thought fit thereupon to refer the said representations, together with the report of the Recorder of Our city of London, of the evidence given by Richard and William Beale, and the said John Foot, on the trial of Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, for the murder of the said Clarke, to the master, wardens,

example of this sort was never so necessary as at present; and certainly you must have known that the lot could not have fallen upon a more guilty object. What system of government is this? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous disposition of the lower class of people, yet when the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the offence, and are not ashamed to give the sanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murders. You are partial perhaps to the military mode of execution, and had rather see a score of these wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them suffer death by regular course of law*. How does it happen, my Lord, that, in *your* hands, even the mercy of the prerogative is cruelty and oppression to the subject?

wardens, and the rest of the court of examiners of the Surgeons company, commanding them likewise to take such further examination of the said persons so representing, and of said John Foot, as they might think necessary, together with the premises above mentioned, to form and report to Us their opinion, "Whether it did or did not appear to them, that the said George Clarke died in consequence of the blow he received in the riot at Brentford on the 8th of December last." And the said court of examiners of the Surgeons company having thereupon reported to Us their opinion, "That it did not appear to them that he did;" We have thought proper to extend Our royal mercy to him the said Edward Quirk, otherwise Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, and to grant him Our free pardon for the murder of the said George Clarke, of which he has been found guilty: Our will and pleasure therefore is, That he the said Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, be inserted, for the said murder, in our first and next general pardon that shall come out for the poor convicts of Newgate, without any condition whatsoever; and that in the mean time you take bail for his appearance, in order to plead Our said pardon. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Our court at St. James's the 10th day of March, 1769, in the ninth year of Our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

ROCHFORD.

To Our trusty and well beloved James Eyre,
Esq. Recorder of Our city of London, the
Sheriffs of Our said city and county of Middlesex, and all others whom it may concern.

* See this subject farther touched upon in Miscellaneous Letters, No.

The measure it seems was so extraordinary, that you thought it necessary to give some reasons for it to the public. Let them be fairly examined.

1. You say that *Messrs. Bromfield and Starling were not examined at Mac Quirk's trial*. I will tell your Grace why they were not. They must have been examined upon oath; and it was foreseen, that their evidence would either not benefit, or might be prejudicial to the prisoner. Otherwise, is it conceivable that his counsel should neglect to call in such material evidence?

You say that *Mr. Foot did not see the deceased until after his death*. A surgeon, my Lord, must know very little of his profession, if, upon examining a wound, or a contusion, he cannot determine whether it was mortal or not.—While the party is alive, a surgeon will be cautious of pronouncing; whereas, by the death of the patient, he is enabled to consider both cause and effect in one view, and to speak with a certainty confirmed by experience.

Yet we are to thank your Grace for the establishment of a new tribunal. Your *inquisitio post mortem* is unknown to the laws of England, and does honour to your invention*. The only material objection to it is, that if Mr. Foot's evidence was insufficient, because he did not examine the wound till after the death of the party, much less can a negative opinion, given by gentlemen who never saw the body of Mr.

* This sentence in a note to one of the editions of the Letters of JUNIUS is said to have no correct meaning. "JUNIUS," says the commentator, "thought that he had hit upon a forcible and quaintly allusive expression, hastily used it, and blundered into nonsense in the use." The reader however shall now determine whether it is the author or the commentator who has *blundered into nonsense*.

The expression is, in fact, perfectly correct, though liable to be misunderstood without some attention. Every coroner's inquest, indeed, except in the cases of ship-wreck and treasure-trove, is, when exercised judicially, an *inquisitio post mortem*; but it can only *legally* take place *super visum corporis*, "on the sight of the corpse or dead body;" on the spot where the death was produced; and by a jury summoned from the neighbourhood. In the instance before us none of these constitutional requisites, were attended to; and JUNIUS might hence remark with the strictest accuracy, as well as the keenest irony, *Your inquisitio post mortem* is unknown to the laws of England. EDIT.

Clarke, either before or after his decease, authorize you to supersede the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of the law.

Now, my Lord, let me ask you, Has it never occurred to your Grace, while you were withdrawing this desperate wretch from that justice which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people of England demanded against him, that there is another man, who is the favourite of his country, whose pardon would have been accepted with gratitude, whose pardon would have healed all our divisions*? Have you quite forgotten that this man was once your Grace's friend? Or is it to murderers only that you will extend the mercy of the crown?

These are questions you will not answer, nor is it necessary. The character of your private life, and the uniform tenour of your public conduct, is an answer to them all.

JUNIUS.

* John Wilkes, formerly, and before the duke of Grafton had abandoned the party of Lord Chatham, and had formed a party for himself, was one of his Grace's most confidential friends. He was at this time confined in the King's Bench prison, having surrendered himself to the jurisdiction of the court of this name, by which the sentence of outlawry had been pronounced against him. The immediate cause of the ministerial persecution of Wilkes, was the zeal with which he had opposed the existing cabinet, and especially the odium and disgrace in which the ministry had involved themselves by issuing a general warrant to seize all the papers and persons of whomsoever they *suspected* to be concerned in writing the forty-fifth number of the famous political and periodical paper called the North Briton, a joint publication of John Wilkes, Charles Churchill, and Lord Temple. The question of general warrants was hereby necessarily brought before the public. The popular resentment was roused against the abettors of such a measure to the highest point of irascibility; and Wilkes, upon the next general election that ensued, was chosen member of parliament for the county of Middlesex, notwithstanding his outlawry, as a proof of the utter contempt in which the ministry were at this time held by the nation, rather than out of any personal regard for Wilkes himself, whose own misconduct must otherwise have been the ruin of him.—
EDIT.

LETTER IX.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

10 April, 1769.

I HAVE so good an opinion of your Grace's discernment, that when the author of the vindication of your conduct assures us, that he writes from his own mere motion, without the least authority from your Grace*, I should be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which seems to be fixed upon every measure, in which either your personal or your political character is concerned.—Your first attempt to support Sir William Proctor ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the second ensured success to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary step you took to make Sir James Lowther lord paramount of Cumberland, has ruined his interest in that county for ever†. The House List of Directors was cursed with the concurrence of government‡; and even the miserable Dingley could not escape the misfortune of your Grace's protection§. With this uniform experience before us, we are authorized to suspect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bitterest reflections upon both, it could not have been written without your immediate direction and assistance. The author indeed calls God to witness for him, with all the

* He alludes to a pamphlet containing a long and laboured vindication of the Duke of Grafton, attributed to the pen of Mr. Edward Weston, writer of the Gazette. EDIT.

† See note upon the Nullum Tempus bill, JUNIUS No. LVII. in which the contest between Sir James Lowther and the Duke of Portland is detailed at large. EDIT.

‡ At this period the whole four and twenty directors were annually chosen, and ten gentlemen, whose names were not inserted in the house list, were elected, notwithstanding the influence of government was exerted in its support. EDIT.

§ This unfortunate person had been persuaded by the Duke of Grafton to set up for Middlesex, his Grace being determined to seat him in the House of Commons, if he had but a single vote. It happened unluckily, that he could not prevail upon any one freeholder to put him in nomination, and it was with difficulty he escaped out of the hands of the populace.

sincerity, and in the very terms of an Irish evidence, *to the best of his knowledge and belief*. My Lord, you should not encourage these appeals to heaven. The pious Prince, from whom you are supposed to descend, made such frequent use of them in his public declarations, that at last the people also found it necessary to appeal to heaven in their turn. Your administration has driven us into circumstances of equal distress;—beware at least how you remind us of the remedy.

You have already much to answer for. You have provoked this unhappy gentleman to play the fool once more in public life, in spite of his years and infirmities, and to shew us, that, as you yourself are a singular instance of youth without spirit, the man who defends you is a no less remarkable example of age without the benefit of experience. To follow such a writer minutely would, like his own periods, be a labour without end. The subject too has been already discussed, and is sufficiently understood. I cannot help observing, however, that, when the pardon of Mac Quirk was the principal charge against you, it would have been but a decent compliment to your Grace's understanding, to have defended you upon your own principles. What credit does a man deserve, who tells us plainly, that the facts set forth in the King's proclamation were not the true motives on which the pardon was granted, and that he wishes that those chirurgical reports, which first gave occasion to certain doubts in the royal breast, had not been laid before his Majesty. You see, my Lord, that even your friends cannot defend your actions, without changing your principles, nor justify a deliberate measure of government, without contradicting the main assertion on which it was founded.

The conviction of Mac Quirk had reduced you to a dilemma, in which it was hardly possible for you to reconcile your political interest with your duty. You were obliged either to abandon an active useful partisan, or to protect a felon from public justice. With your usual spirit, you preferred your interest to every other consideration; and with your usual judgment, you founded your determination upon the only motives, which should not have been given to the public.

I have frequently censured Mr. Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition. Your Grace can best inform us, for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you first honoured him with your friendship, or how long it was before you discovered those bad ones in him, at which, it seems, your delicacy was offended. Remember, my Lord, that you continued your connexion with Mr. Wilkes long after he had been convicted of those crimes, which you have since taken pains to represent in the blackest colours of blasphemy and treason. How unlucky is it, that the first instance you have given us of a scrupulous regard to decorum is united with the breach of a moral obligation! For my own part, my Lord, I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship, I would never have been base enough to betray it. But, let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this at least is certain, that, circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your Grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character, to establish a precedent by which the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to the ruin of the best men in the kingdom.—Content yourself, my Lord, with the many advantages, which the unsullied purity of your own character has given you over your unhappy deserted friend. Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bless God that you "are not as other men are; extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honour and good faith may be violated with impunity, and there you may safely indulge your genius. But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner; and though you have succeeded in making him the tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.

JUNIUS.

LETTER X.

TO MR. EDWARD WESTON.

SIR,

21 April, 1769.

I SAID you were an old man without the benefit of experience. It seems you are also a volunteer with the stipend of twenty commissions*; and at a period when all prospects

* Under the presumption that the pamphlet alluded to in the preceding letter, entitled a "Vindication of the Duke of Grafton," was written by Mr. Weston, and which was avowedly defended by the author, whoever he was, in the Public Advertiser, under the signature of a "Volunteer in the Government's Service," the following short letter, addressed to that gentleman, obviously from the pen of JUNIUS, appeared in the same paper.

TO THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD WESTON.

SIR,

April 20, 1769.

YOUR age, though oppressed with bodily and mental infirmities, which, for the world's edification, you have published to it, demands some respect, or the cause you have embarked in, would entitle you to none. The last glimmerings of your expiring taper, however, do you hero no honour; and I fear the principle that has kindled it obtains you no credit. You are a privy counsellor in Ireland, writer of the Gazette, comptroller of the salt-office, a clerk of the signet, and a pensioner on the Irish establishment: such is the *Volunteer*! And you may remember when you were under secretary of state, the division of 500*l.* among the people left to your discretion, of which you *modestly* claimed 400*l.* for yourself. So honest, so upright, and so disinterested is the *man*! Let JUNIUS be the *dirty rascal* you call him, I know, you know, and the world knows, *what you are*.—
CRITO.

This letter produced a short reply from the Volunteer, in which he denies that Mr. Weston is the author of the pamphlet, or of the letters under that signature; and one from Poetikastos, who attacks JUNIUS in the following words:

"You conclude your despicable vindication of an honour which you do not possess, by asserting 'that you are a master in the art of representing the treachery of the minister, and the abused simplicity of a ——' Villain! of whom? You, who write under the name of JUNIUS, are a base scoundrel. You lie; and you may find out who gives you the lie."

These letters occasioned the under written answer:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD WESTON.

April 27, 1769.

THE old fox has been unkenelled, but is ashamed of his stinking tail. Either several people of intelligence and consideration have been grossly deceived,

are at an end, you are still looking forward to rewards, which you cannot enjoy. No man is better acquainted with the bounty of government than you are.

— ton impudence,
Temeraire vieillard, aura sa recompense.

But I will not descend to an altercation either with the impotence of your age, or the peevishness of your diseases. Your pamphlet*, ingenious as it is, has been so little read, that the public cannot know how far you have a right to give me the lie, without the following citation of your own words.

Page 6—‘ 1. That he is persuaded that the motives, which he (Mr. Weston) has alledged, must appear fully sufficient, with or without the opinions of the surgeons.

‘ 2. That those very motives **MUST HAVE BEEN** the foundation, on which the Earl of Rochford thought proper, &c.

‘ 3. That he **CANNOT BUT REGRET** that the Earl of Rochford seems to have thought proper to lay the chirurgical re-

deceived, or our doughty *Volunteer* declares upon *his honour* an untruth. I cannot believe a misinformation, unless the world should have thought that no impertinent, expectant, old fellow, could have been found to dispatch so lame an errand but you.

You seem ashamed of your generous distribution: I applaud your modesty; but it shall not be at the expense of truth. You did claim 400*l.* out of 500*l.* for your own self; and there are, I suppose, at least half a dozen people who can attest it. And you shall find that I dare say something else to your mortification, if you suppose the world is not heartily tired of you, your petulance, and your crudities.

I don't believe the governors of Bedlam indulge their patients with news-papers, or I should have supposed that *Poetikastos* had obtained his genteel residence there. The poor raving creature bawls aloud for swords and pistols, and requires the *last* argument instead of the *best*. The public has pronounced upon his reason the judgment of *Felo de se*, from his own pen;—I am so impressed with humanity as to wish the coroner may not have the trouble of passing the same sentence upon his person from his sword. I should, however, pity the elegant JUNIUS, who well deserves the thanks of the independent public, if he was obliged to take notice of every fool, sycophant, and bully. CRITO. EDIT.

* It is possible JUNIUS, though his information was generally accurate, was incorrect in attributing this pamphlet to Mr. Weston. For, in a letter inserted by Mr. Weston in the Public Advertiser a few months afterwards, October 14, he solemnly denies his having written this and a variety of pamphlets and letters attributed to him. EDIT.

ports before the King, in preference to all the other sufficient motives,' &c.

Let the public determine whether this be defending government on their principles or your own.

The style and language you have adopted are, I confess, not ill suited to the elegance of your own manners, or to the dignity of the cause you have undertaken. Every common dauber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance. But the works of a master require no index. His features and colouring are taken from nature. The impression they make is immediate and uniform; nor is it possible to mistake his characters, whether they represent the treachery of a minister, or the abused simplicity of a King.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XI.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

24 April, 1769.

THE system you seemed to have adopted, when Lord Chatham unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promise of that uncommon exertion of vigour, which has since illustrated your character, and distinguished your administration. Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, you were scrupulous of exercising even those powers, with which the executive branch of the legislature is legally invested. We have not yet forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was suffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to canvass for the city* and coun-

* Prior to his offering himself for the county of Middlesex, Wilkes had become a candidate for the metropolis, and it was in consequence of his failure in the city, that he pressed forwards to the county. The populace, in both cases, were so numerous and so violently attached to him, that many serious riots were the consequence—and so outrageous were they in two or three instances, that the court party strenuously asserted that the city and even the palace itself were not free from danger. Of these riots,

ty, with all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him*. Our gracious Sovereign has not yet forgotten the extraordi-

riots, the most serious that occurred, were on the meeting of parliament, when the populace surrounded the King's Bench prison from an expectation of seeing Wilkes, who had then been elected member for Middlesex, liberated, in order to take his seat in the senate, in the course of which several persons were killed by the firing of the military; and on the counter address to that of the city being carried to St. James's by those who were deputed for this purpose; on which last occasion the riot act was read at the palace gate, and Lord Talbot, the lord-steward, had his staff of office broken in his hand. EDIT.

* AS JUNIUS was extremely severe in his censures on Lord Mansfield, it is deemed a mere act of justice to extract a part of his lordship's speech on the reversal of Mr. Wilkes's outlawry, by which it will appear, such was the temper of the times, that the chief justice was even privately threatened upon the occasion, should his decision of the cause be in opposition to the popular opinion of the day. The extract is well worthy the reader's perusal, as a specimen of eloquence not often equalled, and rarely excelled; it forms the conclusion of his address.

"I have now gone through the several errors assigned by the defendant, and which have been ingeniously argued, and confidently relied on by his counsel at the bar; I have given my sentiments upon them, and if upon the whole, after the closest attention to what has been said, and with the strongest inclination in favour of the defendant, no arguments which have been urged, no cases which have been cited, no reasons that occur to me are sufficient to satisfy me in my conscience and judgment that this outlawry should be reversed, I am bound to affirm it—and here let me make a pause.

"Many arguments have been suggested, both in and out of court, upon the consequences of establishing this outlawry, either as they may affect the defendant as an individual, or the public in general. As to the first, whatever they may be, the defendant has brought them upon himself; they are inevitable consequences of law arising from his own act; if the penalty, to which he is thereby subjected, is more than a punishment adequate to the crime he has committed, he should not have brought himself into this unfortunate predicament, by flying from the justice of his country; he thought proper to do so, and he must take the fruits of his own conduct, however bitter and unpalatable they may be; and although we may be heartily sorry for any person who has brought himself into this situation, it is not in our power, God forbid it should ever be in our power, to deliver him from it; we cannot prevent the judgment of the law by creating irregularity in the proceedings; we cannot prevent the consequences of that judgment by pardoning the crime; if the defendant has any pretensions to mercy, those pretensions must be urged, and that power exercised in another place, where the constitution has wisely and necessarily vested it: the crown will judge for itself; it does not belong to us to interfere

nary care you took of his dignity and of the safety of his person, when, at a crisis which courtiers affected to call

fere with punishment, we have only to declare the law; none of us had any concern in the prosecution of this business, nor any wishes upon the event of it; it was not our fault that the defendant was prosecuted for the libels upon which he has been convicted; I took no share in another place, in the measures which were taken to prosecute him for one of them; it was not our fault that he was convicted; it was not our fault that he fled; it was not our fault that he was outlawed; it was not our fault that he rendered himself up to justice; none of us revived the prosecution against him, nor could any one of us stop that prosecution when it was revived; it is not our fault if there are not any errors upon the record, nor is it in our power to create any if there are none; we are bound by our oath and in our consciences, to give such a judgment as the law will warrant, and as our reason can prove; such a judgment as we must stand or fall by, in the opinion of the present times, and of posterity; in doing it, therefore, we must have regard to our reputation as honest men, and men of skill and knowledge competent to the stations we hold; no considerations whatsoever should mislead us from this great object to which we ever ought, and I trust, ever shall direct our attention. But consequences of a public nature, reasons of state, political ones, have been strongly urged, (private anonymous letters sent to me, I shall pass over) open avowed publications which have been judicially noticed, and may therefore be mentioned, have endeavoured to influence or intimidate the court, and so prevail upon us to trifle and prevaricate with God, our consciences and the public: it has been intimated that consequences of a frightful nature will flow from the establishment of this outlawry; it is said the people expect the reversal, that the temper of the times demand it, that the multitude will have it so; that the continuation of the outlawry in full force, will not be endured; that the execution of the law upon the defendant will be resisted: these are arguments which will not weigh a feather with me. If insurrection and rebellion are to follow our determination, we have not to answer for the consequences, though we should be the innocent cause—we can only say *Fiat justitia ruat cælum*; we shall discharge our duty without expectations of approbation, or the apprehensions of censure; if we are subjected to the latter unjustly, we must submit to it; we cannot prevent it, we will take care not to deserve it. He must be a weak man indeed who can be staggered by such a consideration.

“The misapprehension, or the misrepresentation of the ignorant or the wicked, the *Mendax Infamia*, which is the consequence of both, are equally indifferent to, unworthy the attention of, and incapable of making any impression on men of firmness and intrepidity.—Those who imagine judges are capable of being influenced by such unworthy, indirect means, most grossly deceive themselves; and for my own part I trust that my temper, and the colour and conduct of my life, have clothed me with a suit of armour to shield me from such arrows. If I have ever supported the King's

alarming, you left the metropolis exposed for two nights together, to every species of riot and disorder. The security of the royal residence from insult was then sufficiently provided for in Mr. Conway's firmness* and Lord Wey-

measures; if I have ever afforded any assistance to government; if I have discharged my duty as a public or private character, by endeavouring to preserve pure and perfect the principles of the constitution, maintaining, unsullied, the honour of the courts of justice, and by an upright administration of, to give a due effect to the laws, I have hitherto done it without any other gift or reward than that most pleasing and most honourable one, the conscientious conviction of doing what was right. I do not affect to scorn the opinion of mankind; I wish earnestly for popularity; I will seek and will have popularity; but I will tell you how I will obtain it; I will have that popularity which follows, and not that which is run after. It is not the applause of a day; it is not the huzzas of thousands that can give a moment's satisfaction to a rational being; that man's mind must indeed be a weak one, and his ambition of a most depraved sort, who can be captivated by such wretched allurements, or satisfied with such momentary gratifications. I say with the Roman orator, and can say it with as much truth as he did, '*Ego hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam non infamiam putarem.*' But the threats have been carried further; personal violence has been denounced, unless public humour be complied with; I do not fear such threats; I do not believe there is any reason to fear them: it is not the genius of the worst of men in the worst of times to proceed to such shocking extremities: but if such an event should happen, let it be so; even such an event might be productive of wholesome effects; such a stroke might rouse the better part of the nation from their lethargic condition to a state of activity, to assert and execute the law, and punish the daring and impious hands which had violated it; and those who now supinely behold the danger which threatens all liberty, from the most abandoned licentiousness, might, by such an event, be awakened to a sense of their situation, as drunken men are oftentimes stunned into sobriety. If the security of our persons and our property, of all we hold dear and valuable, are to depend upon the caprice of a giddy multitude, or to be at the disposal of a giddy mob; if, in compliance with the humours, and to appease the clamours of those, all civil and political institutions are to be disregarded or overthrown, a life somewhat more than sixty is not worth preserving at such a price, and he can never die too soon, who lays down his life in support and vindication of the policy, the government and the constitution of his country." EDIT.

* The Hon. Henry Seymour Conway was brother to Lord Hertford, and father of the present Mrs. Damer, who constitutes indeed his only issue. He had enjoyed several places of high rank and confidence at court during the beginning of his Majesty's reign, but was stripped of them all by the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of having voted in the lower house, in opposition to government, upon the question of General Warrants. He

was

mouth's discretion; while the prime minister of Great Britain, in a rural retirement, and in the arms of faded beauty*, had lost all memory of his Sovereign, his country and himself. In these instances you might have acted with vigour, for you would have had the sanction of the laws to support you. The friends of government might have defended you without shame, and moderate men, who wish well to the peace and good order of society, might have had a pretence for applauding your conduct. But these it seems were not occasions worthy of your Grace's interposition. You reserved the proofs of your intrepid spirit for trials of greater hazard and importance; and now, as if the most disgraceful relaxation of the executive authority had given you a claim of credit to indulge in excesses still more dangerous, you seem determined to compensate amply for your former negligence; and to balance the non-execution of the laws with a breach of the constitution. From one extreme you suddenly start to the other, without leaving, between the weakness and the fury of the passions, one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding.

These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and perhaps may be the employment of a future hour. But the business of the present moment will not suffer me to look back to a series of events, which cease to be interesting or important, because they are succeeded by a measure so singularly daring, that it excites all our attention, and engrosses all our resentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with success.† With this precedent before you, with the principles on

was a man of an independent mind, but often wavering in his opinion, and like his favourite cousin, Horace Walpole, much attached to literature and the fine arts. EDIT.

* The duke of Grafton was, at that time, living with the celebrated Nancy Parsons, afterwards Lady Maynard. EDIT.

† In the contest for the county of Middlesex, the House of Commons, on the 3d of February, 1769, had proceeded to the severe step of expelling Mr. Wilkes, for, among other offences, republishing, in the St. James's Chronicle, Lord Weymouth's letter to Mr. Justice Ponton, one of the magistrates

which it was established, and with a future House of Commons, perhaps less virtuous than the present, every county

gistrates for Surry, with the ensuing prefatory remarks: "I send you the following authentic state paper, the date of which, prior by more than three weeks to the fatal 10th of May, 1768, shews how long the horrid massacre in St. George's Field's had been planned and determined upon, before it was carried into execution, and how long a hellish project can be brooded over by some infernal spirits, without one moment's remorse." Mr. Wilkes having admitted the publication, the house resolved, "That John Wilkes, Esq. a member of this house, who hath, at the bar of this house, confessed himself to be the author and publisher of what this house has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel; and who has been convicted in the court of King's bench, of having printed and published a seditious libel, and three obscene and impious libels; and, by the judgment of the said court, has been sentenced to undergo twenty-two months imprisonment, and is now in execution under the said judgment, be expelled this house," which was carried in the affirmative by 219 against 137. On the 16th of February, 1769, he was a second time returned for Middlesex without opposition. On the day following the election was vacated, and he was declared by a majority of the house, incapable of being elected into that parliament. Notwithstanding this resolution of the house, he was a third time, March 10, elected without opposition; for Dingley, as before observed, had not been able to obtain even a nomination. This election, however, was also declared void the next day. The great mass of Middlesex freeholders, was in consequence thrown into a more violent commotion than ever, and insisted upon their right to return whomsoever they pleased, let parliament expel him as often as it pleased. Wilkes was a third time expelled: and to oppose him with a certainty of success, another device was now contrived, and under the promise that he should certainly be seated for the county in opposition to Wilkes, Col. Luttrell was prevailed upon to relinquish the seat he then held, and to oppose him with all the force that could be mustered upon the occasion. With every possible effort exerted in his favour, however, Luttrell was incapable of obtaining more than two hundred and ninety-six votes, and Wilkes was again returned *almost* unanimously. The ministry were intimidated: but still resolved to carry their new device into effect. Wilkes was not now, therefore, to be openly re-expelled, but, which amounted to the same thing, to be declared incapable of sitting in parliament in consequence of his previous expulsion, and Luttrell was of course declared the sitting member. Yet, with an incongruity not often to be paralleled, the sheriffs, instead of being punished, were admitted to have done their duty, in allowing Wilkes to have become a candidate, and in returning him as fairly elected.

The nation at large now joined in the cause of the Middlesex freeholders; the parliament from exercising the unconstitutional act of rejecting one person who was a real member of its body, without an adequate cause, and in admitting another person to be a member who had never been returned

in England, under the auspices of the treasury, may be represented as completely as the county of Middlesex. Posterity will be indebted to your Grace for not contenting yourself with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate blessings of your administration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchased nor intimidated. But their solemn determined election may be rejected, and the man they detest may be appointed, by another choice, to represent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted, that the sheriffs obeyed the laws and performed their duty*. The return they made must have been legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been censured for making it. With every good-natured allowance for your Grace's youth and inexperience, there are some things which you cannot but know. You cannot but know that the right of the freeholders, to adhere to their choice (even supposing it improperly exerted) was as clear and indisputable as that of the House of Commons to exclude one of their own members:—nor is it possible for you not to see the wide distance there is between the negative power of rejecting one man, and the positive power of appointing another. The right of expulsion, in the most favourable sense, is no more than the custom of parliament. The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, is a step leading immediately to the dissolution of all government. So far forth as it operates, it constitutes a House of Commons, which *does not* represent the people. A House of Commons so formed would involve a contradiction and the grossest confusion of ideas; but there are some ministers, my Lord, whose views can only be answer-

turned by a majority of votes, was declared to have passed into a state of political incapacity, every vote and act of which must necessarily be incompetent and illegislative, and the throne was thronged with petitions and remonstrances from every part of the kingdom, beseeching his Majesty to dissolve it. EDIT.

* Sir Fletcher Norton, when it was proposed to punish the sheriffs, declared in the House of Commons that they, in returning Mr. Wilkes, had done no more than their duty.

ed by reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in argument, true in fact.

This measure, my Lord, is however attended with one consequence, favourable to the people, which I am persuaded you did not foresee*. While the contest lay between the ministry and Mr. Wilkes, his situation and private character gave you advantages over him, which common candour, if not the memory of your former friendship, should have forbidden you to make use of. To religious men, you had an opportunity of exaggerating the irregularities of his past life;—to moderate men you held forth the pernicious consequences of faction. Men, who with this character, looked no farther than to the object before them, were not dissatisfied at seeing Mr. Wilkes excluded from parliament. You have now taken care to shift the question; or, rather, you have created a new one, in which Mr. Wilkes is no more concerned than any other English gentleman. You have united this country against you on one grand constitutional point, on the decision of which our existence as a free people, absolutely depends. You have asserted, not in words but in fact, that representation in parliament does not depend upon the choice of the freeholders. If such a case can possibly happen once, it may happen frequently; it may happen always—and if three hundred votes by any mode of reasoning whatsoever, can prevail against twelve hundred, the same reasoning would equally have given Mr. Luttrell his seat with ten votes, or even with one. The consequences of this attack upon the constitution are too plain and palpable not to alarm the dullest apprehension. I trust you will find, that the people of England are neither deficient in spirit nor understanding, though you have treated them, as if they had neither sense to feel, nor spirit to resent. We have reason to thank God and our ancestors, that there never yet was a minister in this country, who could stand the issue of such a conflict; and with every prejudice in favour of your intentions, I see no such abilities in your Grace, as should entitle you to succeed in an enterprize, in which the ablest and basest of your predeces-

* The reader is desired to mark this prophecy.

sors have found their destruction. You may continue to deceive your gracious master with false representations of the temper and condition of his subjects. You may command a venal vote, because it is the common established appendage of your office. But never hope that the freeholders will make a tame surrender of their rights, or that an English army will join with you in overturning the liberties of their country. They know that their first duty, as citizens, is paramount to all subsequent engagements, nor will they prefer the discipline, nor even the honours of their profession, to those sacred original rights, which belonged to them before they were soldiers, and which they claim and possess as the birthright of Englishmen.

Return, my Lord, before it be too late, to that easy insipid system, which you first set out with. Take back your mistress*;—the name of friend may be fatal to her, for it leads to treachery and persecution. Indulge the people. Attend Newmarket. Mr. Luttrell may again vacate his seat; and Mr. Wilkes, if not persecuted, will soon be forgotten. To be weak and inactive is safer than to be daring and criminal; and wide is the distance between a riot of the populace and a convulsion of the whole kingdom. You may live to make the experiment, but no honest man can wish you should survive it.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

30 May, 1769.

IF the measures in which you have been most successful, had been supported by any tolerable appearance of argument, I should have thought my time not ill employed, in continu-

* The Duke, about this time, had separated himself from Ann Parsons, but proposed to continue united with her, on some platonic terms of friendship, which she rejected with contempt. His baseness to this woman is beyond description or belief.

ing to examine your conduct as a minister, and stating it fairly to the public. But when I see questions, of the highest national importance, carried as they have been, and the first principles of the constitution openly violated, without argument or decency, I confess, I give up the cause in despair. The meanest of your predecessors had abilities sufficient to give a colour to their measures. If they invaded the rights of the people, they did not dare to offer a direct insult to their understanding; and, in former times, the most venal parliaments made it a condition, in their bargain with the minister, that he should furnish them with some plausible pretences for selling their country and themselves. You have had the merit of introducing a more compendious system of government and logic. You neither address yourself to the passions, nor to the understanding, but simply to the touch. You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends, who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided.

Relinquishing, therefore, all idle views of amendment to your Grace, or of benefit to the public, let me be permitted to consider your character and conduct merely as a subject of curious speculation.—There is something in both, which distinguishes you not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. It is not that your indolence and your activity have been equally misapplied, but that the first uniform principle, or, if I may call it the genius of your life, should have carried you through every possible change and contradiction of conduct, without the momentary imputation or colour of a virtue; and that the wildest spirit of inconsistency should never once have betrayed you into a wise or honourable action. This, I own, gives an air of singularity to your fortune, as well as to your disposition. Let us look back together to a scene, in which a mind like yours will find nothing to repent of. Let us try, my Lord, how well you have supported the various relations in which you stood, to your Sovereign, your country, your friends, and yourself. Give us, if it be possible, some

excuse to posterity, and to ourselves, for submitting to your administration. If not the abilities of a great minister, if not the integrity of a patriot, or the fidelity of a friend, shew us, at least the firmness of a man.—For the sake of your mistress, the lover shall be spared. I will not lead her into public, as you have done, nor will I insult the memory of departed beauty. Her sex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her respectable in mine.

The character of the reputed ancestors of some men, has made it possible for their descendants to be vicious in the extreme, without being degenerate. Those of your Grace, for instance, left no distressing examples of virtue, even to their legitimate posterity, and you may look back with pleasure to an illustrious pedigree, in which heraldry has not left a single good quality upon record to insult or upbraid you*. You have better proofs of your descent, my Lord, than the register of a marriage, or any troublesome inheritance of reputation. There are some hereditary strokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features of the human face. Charles the first lived and died a hypocrite. Charles the second was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see their different characters happily revived, and blended in your Grace. Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the second, without being an amiable companion, and, for aught I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr.

You had already taken your degrees with credit in those schools, in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord Chatham's protection†. From Newmarket, White's, and the Opposition, he gave you

* The first Duke of Grafton was a natural son of Charles II. During the progress of the revolution he abandoned the Stuarts for King William; and his descendants had hitherto generally ranked themselves among the party of the Whigs. EDIT.

† To understand these passages, the reader is referred to a noted pamphlet, called the *History of the Minority*.

to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, and seldom preserve:—grave and plausible enough to be thought fit for business; too young for treachery; and, in short, a patriot of no unpromising expectations. Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment*; yet you deserted him, upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with Lord Rockingham. When the Duke of Cumberland's first negociation failed, and when the favourite was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him, by joining with an administration, in which Lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still, however, he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world, why you consented to act without him, or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him. You complained that no measures were taken to satisfy your patron, and that your friend, Mr. Wilkes, who had suffered so much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have since contributed, not a little, to your present plenitude of power; yet, I think, Lord Chatham has less reason than ever to be satisfied; and as for Mr. Wilkes, it is, perhaps, the greatest misfortune of his

* The Duke of Grafton was first introduced into the political world at an early period of life, under the auspices and protection of Lord Chatham (then Mr. Pitt) as a determined Whig. To the administration of Lord Egremont and the Earl of Granville succeeded that of the Duke of Bedford, who soon became obnoxious to Lord Bute, the guardian of his Majesty's non-age, and still his confidential adviser. The Duke of Cumberland was deputed to propose another administration conjointly to Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, and Lord Lyttleton. They all objected, however, to the undue influence of the noble favourite, and the duke's proposal was declined. The Marquis of Rockingham was now applied to, and prevailed upon to take the lead, and form an administration of his own: Mr. Pitt refused to unite in it, but the Duke of Grafton deserted him, and accepted the office of secretary of state. With this administration, however, he soon became chagrined and resigned his office. Lord Chatham again received him into communion; and in the ministry, shortly after planned and carried into effect by himself, in which he held the privy seal, he nominated the Duke of Grafton first lord of the treasury. At the head of this new system, however, Lord Chatham did not long continue—he withdrew in disgust; but the noble duke, instead of following him, took the lead upon himself, and commenced an administration of his own. EDIT.

life, that you should have so many compensations to make in the closet for your former friendship with him. Your gracious master understands your character, and makes you a persecutor, because you have been a friend.

Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head of the treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which he found you were secretly supported in the closet, you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his name from an administration, which had been formed on the credit of it. You had then a prospect of friendships better suited to your genius, and more likely to fix your disposition. Marriage is the point on which every rake is stationary at last; and truly, my Lord, you may well be weary of the circuit you have taken, for you have now fairly travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the Scorpion, in which you stung Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a Virgin* in the house of Bloomsbury. One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or, at least, that such a friendship as the Duke of Bedford's, might have been secured to you by the auspicious marriage of your late Duchess with† his nephew. But ties of this tender nature cannot be drawn too close; and it may possibly be a part of the Duke of Bedford's ambition, after making *her* an honest woman, to work a miracle of the same sort upon your Grace. This worthy nobleman has long dealt in virtue. There has been a large consumption of it in his own family; and, in the way of traffic, I dare say, he has bought and sold more than half the representative integrity of the nation.

In a political view, this union is not imprudent. The favour of princes is a perishable commodity. You have now a strength sufficient to command the closet; and, if it be neces-

* His Grace had lately married Miss Wrottesley, niece of the *Good Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford*.

† Miss Liddel, after her divorce from the Duke, married Lord Upper Ossory.

sary to betray one friendship more, you may set even Lord Bute at defiance. Mr. Stuart Mackenzie may possibly remember what use the Duke of Bedford usually makes of his power*; and our gracious Sovereign, I doubt not, rejoices at this first appearance of union among his servants. His late Majesty, under the happy influence of a family connexion between his ministers, was relieved from the cares of government. A more active prince may perhaps observe, with suspicion, by what degrees an artful servant grows upon his master, from the first unlimited professions of duty and attachment, to the painful representation of the necessity of the royal service, and soon, in regular progression, to the humble insolence of dictating in all the obsequious forms of peremptory submission. The interval is carefully employed in forming connexions, creating interests, collecting a party, and laying the foundation of double marriages†; until the deluded prince, who thought he had found a creature prostituted to his service, and insignificant enough to be always dependent upon his pleasure, finds him at last too strong to be commanded, and too formidable to be removed.

Your Grace's public conduct, as a minister, is but the counterpart of your private history;—the same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you, from the first opposition to the Stamp Act‡, on principles of con-

* Mr. Stuart Mackenzie was brother to the earl of Bute. The Duke of Bedford's abuse of power here referred to, is again noticed in JUNIUS, Letter xxxvi. and consisted in compelling his Majesty to displace Mr. Mackenzie from the office of Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, shortly after his appointment, in favour of Lord Frederick Campbell. In this act of coercion Mr. Grenville bore an equal part with the noble duke. Upon the resignation of these ministers, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie was reinstated in his former post. EDIT.

† See notes in the preceding page. EDIT.

‡ At the period here referred to, the American colonies had acquired such a population, and proportion of public wealth, as to render it necessary to enquire, more critically than had hitherto been done into the peculiar mode of its political connexion with the mother country, and to bind it to the latter in a more definite bond. It was found that most of the provincial departments were chartered by the crown and expressly exempted from legislative taxation, but that others were not chartered in any way, and of course possessed no such privilege. From the capacity of their
being

venience, to Mr. Pitt's surrender of the right; then forward to Lord Rockingham's surrender of the fact; then back again to Lord Rockingham's declaration of the right; then forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend; and in the last instance, from the gentle Conway's undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the Duke of Bedford*: Yet if we may believe the simplicity of Lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next sessions you are once more to be the patron of America. Is this the wisdom of a great minister? or is it the ominous vibration of a pendulum? Had you no opinion

being now able to contribute to the exigencies of the state, from a desire to equalize the entire colonization, and from a professed belief that charters granted by the crown with such an exemption as above, displayed an undue stretch of the prerogative, it was determined upon, by Mr. Grenville's administration, to bring the matter boldly to an issue, and for the legislature to claim an authority over the colonies by passing an act which should immediately affect them. The statute enacted for this purpose was the *Stamp Act*, which imposed a duty upon many of the articles most current through the colonies. The colonies were thrown into a general commotion by this measure, the duty could not be collected, and almost every province became ripe for rebellion.

At home the members of opposition doubted, or affected to doubt, both the propriety and legality of the conduct of administration. Mr. Pitt denied the *right*, the Marquis of Rockingham admitted the right, but denied the *expediency*; while many politicians perplexed by the sophistry advanced by the pleaders on all sides, vacillated in their opinion, and sometimes united with one party and sometimes with another. Of this last description was the Duke of Grafton, who occasionally favoured Mr. Pitt's opinion, occasionally the Marquis of Rockingham's, and at last sided with Mr. Charles Townshend in a determined resolution to carry the system of taxation into effect at all hazards. EDIT.

* Mr. Knox, in his "Extra official State Papers," from which extracts have been made in notes to Miscellaneous Letters, Nos. xxxi. and lxi. narrates the following anecdote as having happened to himself on the repeal of the Stamp Act.

"The morning after the resolution passed in the House of Commons, to repeal the Stamp Act, and to bring in the declaratory bill, I was sent for to a meeting of the Opposition at Mr. Rigby's in Parliament Street; when I came there, Mr. Grenville and Mr. Rigby came out to me and told me, the Duke of Bedford and several others desired to know my opinion of the effects which those resolutions would produce in America. My answer was in few words—*addresses of thanks and measures of rebellion*. Mr. Grenville smiled and shook his head, and Mr. Rigby swore by God he thought so, and both wished me a good morning." EDIT.

of your own, my Lord? or was it the gratification of betraying every party with which you have been united, and of deserting every political principle, in which you had concurred?

Your enemies may turn their eyes without regret from this admirable system of provincial government. They will find gratification enough in the survey of your domestic and foreign policy.

If, instead of disowning Lord Shelburne, the British court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you know, my Lord, that Corsica would never have been invaded*. The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, and were justified in treating you with contempt. They would probably have yielded in the first instance, rather than hazard a rupture with this country; but, being once engaged, they cannot retreat without dishonour. Common sense foresees consequences, which have escaped your Grace's penetration. Either we suffer the French to make an acquisition, the importance of which you have probably no conception of, or we oppose them by an underhand management, which only disgraces us in the eyes of Europe, without answering any purpose of policy or prudence. From secret, indirect assistance, a transition to some more open decisive measures becomes unavoidable; till at last we find ourselves principals in the war, and are obliged to hazard every thing for an object, which might have originally been obtained without expense or danger. I am not versed in the politics of the north; but this I believe is certain, that half the money you have distributed to carry the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, or even your secretary's share in the last subscription, would have kept the Turks at your devotion†. Was it œconomy, my Lord?

* Lord Shelburne, father to the present Marquis of Lansdown, while secretary of state, instructed our ambassador at the court of Versailles to remonstrate, in very spirited terms, on the intended invasion of Corsica by the French. His Lordship's conduct, however, was disavowed by his colleagues, and he resigned his situation, Oct. 21, 1768. But see note to Letter III. p. 46.

† The Ottoman Porte was at this time in the hands of French influence; the court of Tuilleries supplying it with French officers, and instructing it, through their means, in modern tactics, so as to enable it to support
more

or did the coy resistance you have constantly met with in the British senate, make you despair of corrupting the Divan? Your friends indeed have the first claim upon your bounty, but if five hundred pounds a year can be spared in pension to Sir John Moore*, it would not have disgraced you to have allowed something to the secret service of the public.

You will say perhaps that the situation of affairs at home demanded and engrossed the whole of your attention. Here, I confess, you have been active. An amiable, accomplished Prince ascends the throne under the happiest of all auspices, the acclamations and united affections of his subjects. The first measures of his reign, and even the odium of a favourite, were not able to shake their attachment. *Your* services, my Lord, have been more successful. Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have seen the natural effects of a system of government, at once both odious and contemptible. We have seen the laws sometimes scandalously relaxed, sometimes violently stretched beyond their tone. We have seen the sacred person of the Sovereign insulted; and in profound peace, and with an undisputed title, the fidelity of his subjects brought by his own servants into public question†. Without abilities, resolution, or interest, you have done more than Lord Bute could accomplish with all Scotland at his heels.

Your Grace, little anxious perhaps either for present or future reputation, will not desire to be handed down in these colours to posterity. You have reason to flatter yourself that the memory of your administration will survive even the

more successfully the war in which it was engaged with Russia. The growing extent of French influence over the continent, might in this instance perhaps have easily been curtailed by a little address, and even transferred to the court of St. James's. EDIT.

* Sir John Moore was an old Newmarket acquaintance of his Grace's, where he succeeded in completely squandering away his private fortune. The Duke of Grafton, out of compassion, obtained for him the pension in question. EDIT.

† The wise Duke, about this time, exerted all the influence of government to procure addresses to satisfy the King of the fidelity of his subjects. They came in very thick from *Scotland*; but, after the appearance of this letter, we heard no more of them.

forms of a constitution, which our ancestors vainly hoped would be immortal; and as for your personal character, I will not, for the honour of human nature, suppose that you can wish to have it remembered. The condition of the present times is desperate indeed; but there is a debt due to those who come after us, and it is the historian's office to punish, though he cannot correct. I do not give you to posterity as a pattern to imitate, but as an example to deter; and as your conduct comprehends every thing that a wise or honest minister should avoid, I mean to make you a negative instruction to your successors for ever.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

12 June, 1769.

THE Duke of Grafton's friends, not finding it convenient to enter into a contest with JUNIUS, are now reduced to the last melancholy resource of defeated argument, the flat general charge of scurrility and falsehood. As for his stile, I shall leave it to the critics. The truth of his facts is of more importance to the public. They are of such a nature, that I think a bare contradiction will have no weight with any man, who judges for himself. Let us take them in the order in which they appear in his last letter.

1. Have not the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution been openly invaded, and the very name of an election made ridiculous by the arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell?

2. Did not the Duke of Grafton frequently lead his mistress into public, and even place her at the head of his table, as if he had pulled down an ancient* temple of Venus, and

* Miss Parsons had at this time surpassed the prime both of her youth and beauty.

See this anecdote related more in detail in Miscellaneous Letters, No. XX. EDIT.

could bury all decency and shame under the ruins?—Is this the man who dares to talk of Mr. Wilkes's morals?

3. Is not the character of his presumptive ancestors as strongly marked in him, as if he had descended from them in a direct legitimate line? The idea of his death is only prophetic; and what is prophecy but a narrative preceding the fact?

4. Was not Lord Chatham the first who raised him to the rank and post of a minister, and the first whom he abandoned?

5. Did he not join with Lord Rockingham, and betray him?

6. Was he not the bosom friend of Mr. Wilkes, whom he now pursues to destruction?

7. Did he not take his degrees with credit at Newmarket, White's, and the Opposition?

8. After deserting Lord Chatham's principles, and sacrificing his friendship, is he not now closely united with a set of men, who, though they have occasionally joined with all parties, have in every different situation, and at all times, been equally and constantly detested by this country?

9. Has not Sir John Moore a pension of five hundred pounds a year?—This may probably be an acquittance of favours upon the turf; but is it possible for a minister to offer a grosser outrage to a nation, which has so very lately cleared away the beggary of the civil list, at the expense of more than half a million?

10. Is there any one mode of thinking or acting with respect to America, which the Duke of Grafton has not successively adopted and abandoned?

11. Is there not a singular mark of shame set upon this man, who has so little delicacy and feeling as to submit to the opprobrium of marrying a near relation of one who had debauched his wife?—In the name of decency, how are these amiable cousins to meet at their uncle's table?—It will be a scene in *Cædipus*, without the distress.—Is it wealth, or wit, or beauty,—or is the amorous youth in love?

The rest is notorious. That Corsica has been sacrificed to the French: that in some instances the laws have been scandalously relaxed, and in others daringly violated; and that the King's subjects have been called upon to assure him of their fidelity, in spite of the measures of his servants.

A writer, who builds his arguments upon facts such as these, is not easily to be confuted. He is not to be answered by general assertions, or general reproaches. He may want eloquence to amuse or persuade, but, speaking truth, he must always convince.

PHILO JUNIUS.

LETTER XIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

22 June, 1769.

THE name of *Old Noll* is destined to be the ruin of the house of Stuart. There is an ominous fatality in it, which even the spurious descendants of the family cannot escape. Oliver Cromwell had the merit of conducting Charles the first to the block. Your correspondent OLD NOLL*, appears to have the same design upon the Duke of Grafton. His arguments consist better with the title he has assumed, than with the principles he professes; for though he pretends to be an advocate for the Duke, he takes care to give us the best reasons, why his patron should regularly follow the fate of his presumptive ancestor.—Through the whole course of the Duke of Grafton's life, I see a strange endeavour to unite contradictions, which cannot be reconciled. He marries to be divorced;—he keeps a mistress to remind him of conju-

* A correspondent under this signature replied to the preceding letter of PHILO JUNIUS, in the Public Advertiser, dated June 19; introducing his observations with the following paragraph.

“Though PHILO JUNIUS is, in every sense, unworthy of an answer as a writer; yet as he has compressed into small compass what he calls the facts advanced by JUNIUS, I will answer them briefly one by one, and for ever drop a subject that could only acquire consequence by discussing it in a serious manner.” EDIT.

gal endearments, and he chooses such friends, as it is a virtue in him to desert. If it were possible for the genius of that accomplished president, who pronounced sentence upon Charles the first, to be revived in some modern sycophant*, his Grace, I doubt not, would by sympathy discover him among the dregs of mankind, and take him for a guide in those paths, which naturally conduct the minister to the scaffold.

The assertion that two thirds of the nation approve of the *acceptance* of Mr. Luttrell (for even *Old Noll* is too modest to call it an election) can neither be maintained nor confuted by argument. It is a point of fact, on which every English gentleman will determine for himself. As to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong, and I confess I have not that opinion of their knowledge or integrity, to think it necessary that they should decide for me upon a plain constitutional question. With respect to the appointment of Mr. Luttrell, the chancellor has never yet given any authentic opinion†. Sir Fletcher Norton‡ is indeed an honest, a very honest man; and the Attorney General§ is *ex officio* the guardian of liberty, to

* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the name of *Bradshaw*.
—AUTHOR.

And as little so that *Old Noll* was the nick name of Oliver Cromwell. There is a peculiar severity in the comparison of the two periods and the two families. The Duke of Grafton was descended from the Stuarts; and Bradshaw was the name of the president of the regicide court, which, under the secret influence of Oliver Cromwell, (or *Old Noll*) condemned Charles the first to death. Bradshaw was the name of the Duke of Grafton's private secretary at the present moment, and JUNIUS here insinuates that he was also the author of the letter signed *Old Noll*, which had a chance of proving as fatal to his Grace's cause, as ever the names of Bradshaw or *Old Noll* had proved fatal to his Grace's ancestor.

Bradshaw, before his present appointment, had been an under-clerk in the war-office, and was raised to the rank of private secretary, for his activity and dispatch of business. In the month of May, 1772, he was appointed a lord of the admiralty.

For a further account, see Letter xxxvi. note. EDIT.

† Lord Camden. EDIT.

‡ At this time Chief Justice in Eyre, and just appointed a privy counsellor, with a salary of 3000*l*. EDIT.

§ Mr. De Grey, afterwards Lord Walsingham. EDIT.

take care, I presume, that it shall never break out into a criminal excess. Doctor Blackstone is solicitor to the Queen. The Doctor recollected that he had a place to preserve, though he forgot that he had a reputation to lose. We have now the good fortune to understand the Doctor's principles, as well as writings. For the defence of truth, of law, and reason, the Doctor's book may be safely consulted; but whoever wishes to cheat a neighbour of his estate*, or to rob a country of its rights†, need make no scruple of consulting the Doctor himself.

The example of the English nobility may, for aught I know, sufficiently justify the Duke of Grafton, when he indulges his genius in all the fashionable excesses of the age; yet, considering his rank and station, I think it would do him more honour to be able to deny the fact, than to defend it by such authority. But if vice itself could be excused, there is yet a certain display of it, a certain outrage to decency, and violation of public decorum, which, for the benefit of society, should never be forgiven. It is not that he kept a mistress at home, but that he constantly attended her abroad.—It is not the private indulgence, but the public insult of which I complain. The name of Miss Parsons would hardly have been known, if the first lord of the treasury had not led her in triumph through the Opera House, even in the presence of the Queen‡. When we see a man act in this manner, we may admit the shameless depravity of his heart, but what are we to think of his understanding?

His Grace, it seems, is now to be a regular domestic man, and as an omen of the future delicacy and correctness of his

* Doctor Blackstone had been, unfortunately for himself, an adviser of Sir James Lowther against the Duke of Portland, in the dispute concerning the Cumberland crown lands, upon the obsolete law of *nullum tempus*. See Letter LVII. EDIT.

† Doctor Blackstone had also supported government in its rejection of Mr. Wilkes, as member for the county of Middlesex. See Letters of Junius, No. XVIII, as also Miscellaneous Letters, No. LVI. subscribed Simplex. EDIT.

‡ See this transaction more fully detailed in Miscellaneous Letters, No. XX. EDIT.

conduct, he marries a first cousin of the man, who had fixed that mark and title of infamy upon him, which, at the same moment, makes a husband unhappy and ridiculous. The ties of consanguinity may possibly preserve him from the same fate a second time, and as to the distress of meeting, I take for granted the venerable uncle of these common cousins has settled the etiquette in such a manner, that, if a mistake should happen, it may reach no farther than from *Madame ma femme* to *Madame ma cousine*.

The Duke of Grafton has always some excellent reason for deserting his friends.—The age and incapacity of Lord Chatham*;—the debility of Lord Rockingham;—or the infamy of Mr. Wilkes. There was a time indeed when he did not appear to be quite so well acquainted, or so violently offended with the infirmities of his friends. But now I confess they are not ill exchanged for the youthful, vigorous virtue of the Duke of Bedford;—the firmness of General Conway†;—the blunt, or if I may call it, the aukward integrity of Mr. Rigby‡, and the spotless morality of Lord Sandwich§.

If a large pension to a broken gambler|| be an act worthy of commendation, the Duke of Grafton's connexions will furnish him with many opportunities of doing praiseworthy actions; and as he himself bears no part of the expense, the

* Lord Chatham, it is well known, laboured under a premature decrepitude of body, from frequent and violent attacks of the gout; but his mind was never affected by such paroxysms. EDIT.

† See his character in Letter XI. note. EDIT.

‡ Mr. Rigby was introduced into political life by the Duke of Bedford, to whom he had chiefly recommended himself by his convivial talents. He at length attained the lucrative post of paymaster of the British forces. His pretensions to *integrity* are well known, even to the present moment, to have been rather *aukward*.

§ It was Lord Sandwich, who, in conjunction with Dr. Warburton, complained to the House of Lords, of Wilkes's Essay on Woman, and induced their lordships interference; in consequence of which, the writer was prosecuted by the crown. The irony of the expression here adopted proceeds from the well known fact that Lord Sandwich was at this very time the most profligate and blasphemous of all the Bedford party. EDIT.

|| Sir John Moore.

generosity of distributing the public money for the support of virtuous families in distress will be an unquestionable proof of his Grace's humanity.

As to public affairs, *Old Noll* is a little tender of descending to particulars. He does not deny that Corsica has been sacrificed to France, and he confesses, that with regard to America, his patron's measures have been subject to some variation; but then he promises wonders of stability and firmness for the future. These are mysteries, of which we must not pretend to judge by experience; and truly, I fear, we shall perish in the Desert, before we arrive at the Land of Promise. In the regular course of things, the period of the Duke of Grafton's ministerial manhood should now be approaching. The imbecility of his infant state was committed to Lord Chatham. Charles Townshend took some care of his education* at that ambiguous age, which lies between the follies of political childhood, and the vices of puberty. The empire of the passions soon succeeded. His earliest principles and connexions were of course forgotten or despised. The company he has lately kept has been of no service to his morals; and, in the conduct of public affairs, we see the character of his time of life strongly distinguished. An obstinate ungovernable self sufficiency plainly points out to us that state of imperfect maturity, at which the graceful levity of youth is lost, and the solidity of experience not yet acquired. It is possible the young man may in time grow wiser, and reform; but, if I understand his disposition, it is not of such corrigible stuff, that we should hope for any amendment in him, before he has accomplished the destruction of this country. Like other rakes, he may perhaps live to see his error, but not until he has ruined his estate.

PHILO JUNIUS.

* Charles Townshend, younger brother of the first marquis of Townshend, who had been inducted into political life under the banners of the first Lord Holland, drew up the plan for taxing America, which the Duke of Grafton was persuaded to adopt, and thus avowed himself to be, in this instance, a pupil of Charles Townshend, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the period here referred to, in which office he died, and was succeeded by Lord North in 1767. EDIT.

LETTER XV.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD.

8 July, 1769.

IF nature had given you an understanding qualified to keep pace with the wishes and principles of your heart, she would have made you, perhaps, the most formidable minister that ever was employed, under a limited monarch, to accomplish the ruin of a free people. When neither the feelings of shame, the reproaches of conscience, nor the dread of punishment, form any bar to the designs of a minister, the people would have too much reason to lament their condition, if they did not find some resource in the weakness of his understanding. We owe it to the bounty of Providence, that the completest depravity of the heart is sometimes strangely united with a confusion of the mind, which counteracts the most favorite principles, and makes the same man treacherous without art, and a hypocrite without deceiving. The measures, for instance, in which your Grace's activity has been chiefly exerted, as they were adopted without skill, should have been conducted with more than common dexterity. But truly, my Lord, the execution has been as gross as the design. By one decisive step, you have defeated all the arts of writing. You have fairly confounded the intrigues of opposition, and silenced the clamours of faction. A dark, ambiguous system might require and furnish the materials of ingenious illustration; and, in doubtful measures, the virulent exaggeration of party must be employed, to rouse and engage the passions of the people. You have now brought the merits of your administration to an issue, on which every Englishman, of the narrowest capacity, may determine for himself. It is not an alarm to the passions, but a calm appeal to the judgment of the people, upon their own most essential interests. A more experienced minister would not have hazarded a direct invasion of the first principles of the constitution, before he had made some progress in subduing the spirit of the people. With such a cause as yours, my Lord, it is not sufficient that

you have the court at your devotion, unless you can find means to corrupt or intimidate the jury. The collective body of the people form that jury, and from *their* decision there is but one appeal.

Whether you have talents to support you, at a crisis of such difficulty and danger, should long since have been considered. Judging truly of your disposition, you have perhaps mistaken the extent of your capacity. Good faith and folly have so long been received as synonymous terms, that the reverse of the proposition has grown into credit, and every villain fancies himself a man of abilities. It is the apprehension of your friends, my Lord, that you have drawn some hasty conclusion of this sort, and that a partial reliance upon your moral character has betrayed you beyond the depth of your understanding. You have now carried things too far to retreat. You have plainly declared to the people what they are to expect from the continuance of your administration. It is time for your Grace to consider what you also may expect in return from *their* spirit and *their* resentment.

Since the accession of our most gracious Sovereign to the throne, we have seen a system of government, which may well be called a reign of experiments. Parties of all denominations have been employed and dismissed. The advice of the ablest men in this country has been repeatedly called for and rejected; and when the Royal displeasure has been signified to a minister, the marks of it have usually been proportioned to his abilities and integrity. The spirit of the FAVOURITE had some apparent influence upon every administration; and every set of ministers preserved an appearance of duration as long as they submitted to that influence. But there were certain services to be performed for the Favourite's security, or to gratify his resentments, which your predecessors in office had the wisdom or the virtue not to undertake. The moment this refractory spirit was discovered, their disgrace was determined. Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham have successively had the honour to be dismissed for preferring their duty, as servants of the public, to those compliances which were expected

from their station. A submissive administration was at last gradually collected from the deserters of all parties, interests, and connexions: and nothing remained but to find a leader for these gallant well-disciplined troops. Stand forth, my Lord, for thou art the man. Lord Bute found no resource of dependence or security in the proud, imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville*, nor in the mild but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham. His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition, and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the *caput mortuum* of vitriol in your Grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state, but brought into action, you become vitriol again. Such are the extremes of alternate indolence or fury, which have governed your whole administration. Your circumstances with regard to the people soon becoming desperate, like other honest servants, you determined to involve the best of masters in the same difficulties with yourself. We owe it to your Grace's well-directed labours, that your Sovereign has been persuaded to doubt of the affections of his subjects, and the people to suspect the virtues of their Sovereign, at a time when both were unquestionable. You have degraded the royal dignity into a base, dishonourable competition with Mr. Wilkes, nor had you abilities to carry even this last contemptible triumph over a private man, without the grossest violation of

* Mr. G. Grenville, younger brother of Lord Temple, and brother in law to Lord Chatham, was a political élève of his maternal uncle Lord Cobham. He first attached himself to the Tory party, in consequence of marrying the daughter of Sir Wm. Wyndham, the confidential friend of Bolingbroke, and father of Lord Egremont; and was made one of the secretaries of state, when Lord Bute in 1762 was appointed first Lord of the Treasury. He planned the American Stamp Act, and commenced the opposition to Wilkes. He afterwards, however, became disgusted with Lord Bute, and, upon his resignation, firmly attached himself to the party of Lord Rockingham; the most pure and unmixed Whig leader of his day, with whom also Lord Temple and the Earl of Chatham had now united themselves. EDIT

the fundamental laws of the constitution and rights of the people. But these are rights, my Lord, which you can no more annihilate, than you can the soil to which they are annexed. The question no longer turns upon points of national honour and security abroad, or on the degrees of expedience and propriety of measures at home. It was not inconsistent that you should abandon the cause of liberty in another country*, which you had persecuted in your own; and in the common arts of domestic corruption, we miss no part of Sir Robert Walpole's system† except his abilities. In this humble imitative line, you might long have proceeded, safe and contemptible. You might, probably, never have risen to the dignity of being hated, and even have been despised with moderation. But it seems you meant to be distinguished, and, to a mind like yours, there was no other road to fame but by the destruction of a noble fabric, which you thought had been too long the admiration of mankind. The use you have made of the military force introduced an alarming change in the mode of executing the laws. The arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell invades the foundation of the laws themselves, as it manifestly transfers the right of legislation from those whom the people have chosen, to those whom they have rejected. With a succession of such appointments, we may soon see a House of Commons collected, in the choice of which the other towns and counties of England will have as little share as the devoted county of Middlesex.

Yet, I trust, your Grace will find that the people of this country are neither to be intimidated by violent measures, nor deceived by refinements. When they see Mr. Luttrell seated in the House of Commons by mere dint of power, and in direct opposition to the choice of a whole county, they will not listen to those subtleties, by which every arbitrary exertion of authority is explained into the law and privilege of parliament. It requires no persuasion of argument, but simply the evidence of the senses, to convince them, that

* Corsica. EDIT.

† See note to Letter XVI. p. 111. EDIT.

to transfer the right of election from the collective to the representative body of the people, contradicts all those ideas of a House of Commons, which they have received from their forefathers, and which they have already, though vainly perhaps, delivered to their children. The principles, on which this violent measure has been defended, have added scorn to injury, and forced us to feel, that we are not only oppressed, but insulted.

With what force, my Lord, with what protection are you prepared to meet the united detestation of the people of England? The city of London has given a generous example to the kingdom, in what manner a king of this country ought to be addressed*; and I fancy, my Lord, it is not yet in your courage to stand between your Sovereign and the addresses of his subjects. The injuries you have done this country are such as demand not only redress, but vengeance. In vain shall you look for protection to that venal vote, which you have already paid for—another must be purchased; and to save a minister, the House of Commons must declare themselves not only independent of their constituents, but the determined enemies of the constitution. Consider, my Lord, whether this be an extremity to which their fears will permit them to advance; or, if *their* protection should fail you, how far you are authorized to rely upon the sincerity of those smiles, which a pious court lavishes without reluctance upon a libertine by profession. It is not, indeed the least of the thousand contradictions which attend you, that a man, marked to the world by the grossest violation of all ceremony and decorum, should be the first servant of a court, in which prayers are morality, and kneeling is religion. Trust not too far to appearances, by which your predecessors have been deceived, though they have not been injured. Even the best of princes may at last discover, that this is a contention, in which every thing may be lost, but nothing can be gained; and as you became minister by accident, were adopted without choice, trusted without confi-

* See this subject farther noticed in JUNIUS'S Letter xxxvii.

dence, and continued without favour, be assured that, whenever an occasion presses, you will be discarded without even the forms of regret. You will then have reason to be thankful, if you are permitted to retire to that seat of learning, which, in contemplation of the system of your life, the comparative purity of your manners with those of their high steward, and a thousand other recommending circumstances, has chosen you to encourage the growing virtue of their youth, and to preside over their education*. Whenever the spirit of distributing prebends and bishopricks shall have departed from you, you will find that learned seminary perfectly recovered from the delirium of an installation, and, what in truth it ought to be, once more a peaceful scene of slumber and thoughtless meditation. The venerable tutors of the university will no longer distress your modesty, by proposing you for a pattern to their pupils. The learned dullness of declamation will be silent†; and even the venal muse‡, though happiest in fiction, will forget your virtues. Yet, for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred, until your morals shall happily be ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which the worst examples cease to be contagious.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XVI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

19 July, 1769.

A GREAT deal of useless argument might have been saved, in the political contest which has arisen from the

* The Duke of Grafton was chancellor, and Lord Sandwich high steward of the university of Cambridge. EDIT.

† Dr. Johnson is the person here supposed to be hinted at by the author. EDIT.

‡ He alludes to Gray's celebrated Ode to Music, composed and performed on the installation of his Grace as chancellor of the university; beginning,

Hence! avaunt! 'tis holy ground—

Comus and his midnight crew, &c. EDIT.

expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the question had been once stated with precision, to the satisfaction of each party, and clearly understood by them both. But in this, as in almost every other dispute, it usually happens that much time is lost in referring to a multitude of cases and precedents, which prove nothing to the purpose, or in maintaining propositions, which are either not disputed, or, whether they be admitted or denied, are entirely indifferent as to the matter in debate; until at last the mind, perplexed and confounded with the endless subtleties of controversy, loses sight of the main question, and never arrives at truth. Both parties in the dispute are apt enough to practise these dishonest artifices. The man, who is conscious of the weakness of his cause, is interested in concealing it: and, on the other side, it is not uncommon to see a good cause mangled by advocates, who do not know the real strength of it.

I should be glad to know, for instance, to what purpose, in the present case, so many precedents have been produced to prove, that the House of Commons have a right to expel one of their own members; that it belongs to them to judge of the validity of elections; or that the law of parliament is part of the law of the land*? After all these propositions are admitted, Mr. Luttrell's right to his seat will continue to be just as disputable as it was before. Not one of them is at present in agitation. Let it be admitted that the House of Commons were authorized to expel Mr. Wilkes; that they are the proper court to judge of elections, and that the law of parliament is binding upon the people; still it remains to be enquired whether the House, by their resolution in favour of Mr. Luttrell, have or have not truly declared that law. To facilitate this enquiry, I would have the question cleared of all foreign or indifferent matter. The following state of it will probably be thought a fair one by both parties; and then I imagine there is no gentleman in this country,

* The reader will observe that these admissions are made, not as of truths unquestionable, but for the sake of argument and in order to bring the real question to issue.

who will not be capable of forming a judicious and true opinion upon it. I take the question to be strictly this: "Whether or no it be the known, established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons, of itself creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that, at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void, and that any other candidate, who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member."

To prove that the affirmative is the law of parliament, I apprehend it is not sufficient for the present House of Commons to declare it to be so. We may shut our eyes indeed to the dangerous consequences of suffering one branch of the legislature to declare new laws, without argument or example, and it may perhaps be prudent enough to submit to authority; but a mere assertion will never convince, much less will it be thought reasonable to prove the right by the fact itself. The ministry have not yet pretended to such a tyranny over our minds. To support the affirmative fairly, it will either be necessary to produce some statute, in which that positive provision shall have been made, that specific disability clearly created, and the consequences of it declared; or, if there be no such statute, the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases*, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them; for I readily admit that the custom of parliament, once clearly proved, is equally binding with the common and statute law.

The consideration of what may be reasonable or unreasonable makes no part of this question. We are enquiring what the law is, not what it ought to be. Reason may be applied to shew the impropriety or expedience of a law, but we must have either statute or precedent to prove the existence of it. At the same time I do not mean to admit that the late resolution of the House of Commons is defensible on general

* Precedents, in opposition to principles, have little weight with JUNIUS; but he thought it necessary to meet the ministry, upon their own ground

principles of reason, any more than in law. This is not the hinge on which the debate turns.

Supposing, therefore, that I have laid down an accurate state of the question, I will venture to affirm, 1st, That there is no statute existing, by which that specific disability, which we speak of, is created. If there be, let it be produced. The argument will then be at an end.

2dly, That there is no precedent in all the proceedings of the House of Commons which comes entirely home to the present case, viz. "where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member." If there be such a precedent, let it be given to us plainly, and I am sure it will have more weight than all the cunning arguments which have been drawn from inferences and probabilities.

The ministry, in that laborious pamphlet, which, I presume, contains the whole strength of the party, have declared*, "That Mr. Walpole's† was the first and only instance, in which the electors of any county or borough had returned a person expelled to serve in the same parliament." It is not possible to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled, and having a majority of votes at the

* *Case of the Middlesex election considered*, page 38.

† This fact occurred while Mr. Walpole was in an inferior capacity to that in which he afterwards appeared so conspicuously as prime minister of George I. and George II. At the period in question, the Tories having obtained a majority in parliament, expelled him for the crime of having accepted profits upon a military contract, while secretary at war, and at the same time possessed influence enough to have him committed to the Tower. He was member for Lynn Regis, the burgesses of which borough were warmly attached to him. It was for this borough he had been returned at an early period of his life, by which he was enabled, while a young politician, to head the Whig party against St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, who took a leading part in the Tory administration of Harley.

From the disgrace into which he was hereby for a long time plunged, he was at length relieved by the failure of the minister's favourite expedient of the South Sea incorporation, and the extreme unpopularity in which he was consequently involved. Walpole now triumphed upon the ruin of his rival; became prime minister, retained the post through the whole of the existing and part of the next reign, and for his services was created Earl of Orford. EDIT.

next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the House that he might be the sitting member*. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our House of Commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law however was the same. It came regularly before the House, and it was their business to determine upon it. They did determine it, for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*. If it be said that they meant this resolution as matter of favour and indulgence to the borough, which had retorted Mr. Walpole upon them, in order that the burgesses, knowing what the law was, might correct their error, I answer,

I. That it is a strange way of arguing, to oppose a supposition, which no man can prove, to a fact which proves itself.

* The following are the particulars of this case as extracted from the journals of the House of Commons:

“On the 23 of February 1711, a petition of the freemen and free-burghers of the borough of King’s Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that Monday the eleventh of February last, being appointed for chusing a member to serve in parliament for this borough, in the room of Robert Walpole, Esq. expelled this House, Samuel Taylor, Esq. *was elected their burgess*; but John Bagg, present mayor of the said borough, *refused to return the said Samuel Taylor, though required so to do*; and returned the said Robert Walpole, though expelled this House, and then a prisoner in the Tower, and praying the consideration of the House.

“March 6th. The order of the day being read of taking into consideration the merits of the petition of the freemen and free-burghers of the borough of King’s Lynn in the county of Norfolk, and a motion being made that counsel be called in, upon a division, it was resolved in the negative: Tellers for the yeas Sir Charles Turner, Mr. Pulteney, 127. Tellers for the noes, Sir Simeon Stuart, Mr. Foster, 212.—A motion being made, and the question put, that Robert Walpole, Esq. having been, this session of parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower of London, and expelled this House for an high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption, when secretary at war, was, and is, incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament, it was resolved, upon a division, in the affirmative. Then a motion being made, and the question put, that Samuel Taylor, Esq. is duly elected a burgess to serve in the present parliament for the borough of King’s Lynn in the county of Norfolk, it passed in the negative. Resolved, that the late election of a burgess to serve in the present parliament for the said borough of King’s Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, is a void election.” ED 11.

II. That if this were the intention of the House of Commons, it must have defeated itself. The burgesses of Lynn could never have known their error, much less could they have corrected it, by any instruction they received from the proceedings of the House of Commons. They might perhaps have foreseen, that, if they returned Mr. Walpole again, he would again be rejected; but they never could infer, from a resolution by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared *not duly elected*, that, at a future election, and in similar circumstances, the House of Commons would reverse their resolution, and receive the same candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected.

This indeed would have been a most extraordinary way of declaring the law of parliament, and what I presume no man, whose understanding is not at cross-purposes with itself, could possibly understand.

If, in a case of this importance, I thought myself at liberty to argue from suppositions rather than from facts, I think the probability, in this instance, is directly the reverse of what the ministry affirm; and that it is much more likely that the House of Commons at that time would rather have strained a point in favour of Mr. Taylor, than that they would have violated the law of parliament, and robbed Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him, to gratify a refractory borough, which, in defiance of them, had returned a person branded with the strongest mark of the displeasure of the House.

But really, Sir, this way of talking, for I cannot call it argument, is a mockery of the common understanding of the nation, too gross to be endured. Our dearest interests are at stake. An attempt has been made, not merely to rob a single county of its rights, but, by inevitable consequence, to alter the constitution of the House of Commons. This fatal attempt has succeeded, and stands as a precedent, recorded for ever*. If the ministry are unable to defend their cause by fair argument, founded on facts, let them spare us at least

* See the Editor's note to Letter XLVI. in which the reader will find a particular account of the steps taken by Mr. Wilkes to procure the erasure of these proceedings from the journals of the House of Commons. EDIT.

the mortification of being amused and deluded like children. I believe there is yet a spirit of resistance in this country, which will not submit to be oppressed; but I am sure there is a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot be deceived.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

1 August, 1769.

IT will not be necessary for JUNIUS to take the trouble of answering your correspondent G. A. or the quotation from a speech without doors, published in your paper of the 28th of last month*. The speech appeared before JUNIUS's letter,

* It seems but fair that the reader should be put into possession of both the papers which it is the object of the present letter to oppose; but more especially the latter, which was written by Dr. Blackstone, and a passage from another part of which JUNIUS, in p. 144 of this volume, contrasts with one from the Commentaries. The Editor has therefore extracted them from the journal referred to.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

I HAVE perused, with all due attention, the letter of JUNIUS, inserted in your paper of the 19th inst. I perfectly agree with him, that a great deal of useless argument might have been saved in the political contest which has arisen upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the question had been once stated with precision to the satisfaction of each party. Yet after all the ingenious pains JUNIUS has taken, I much doubt whether the question, as he has thought fit to state it, will at all satisfy more than one party. The question, as he has given it, is "Whether or no it be the known established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons, of itself creates in him such an incapacity of being re-elected, that at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void, and that any other candidate who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member?" JUNIUS having thus formed his question, entertains the reader with a few spirited flourishes, not perhaps directly *ad rem*; and then asserts, what probably the party he opposes will not deny, viz "That to support the affirmative fairly, it will either be necessary to produce some statute, in which that positive provision shall have been made, that specific disability clearly created, and the consequences of it declared;

and as the author seems to consider the great proposition, on which all his argument depends, viz. *that Mr. Wilkes was under that known legal incapacity, of which JUNIUS speaks*, as a point granted, his speech is, in no shape, an answer to JUNIUS, for this is the very question in debate.

declared; or if there be no such statute, the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case, or cases, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them." Suppose, for argument's sake, that no such statute, no such custom of parliament, no such case in point can be produced, does it therefore follow that the determination of the House of Commons, in regard to Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Luttrell, was wrong? Have not the members of the present House as good a right to establish a precedent, as the members of any antecedent house ever had? JUNIUS admits a right in the house to expel. But was there not a time prior to all expulsion? and was the first expulsion therefore wrong? Was there not a time prior to every other precedent in the Journals of the House? But was every such, or any such precedent therefore wrong? Are things wrong merely because they were never done before? Or do wrong things become right by mere dint of repetition? Should JUNIUS think fit to answer these questions, I may be induced perhaps to enlarge upon the subject.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

July 26.

G. A.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

July 28, 1769.

IN answer to the arguments and observations of your correspondent JUNIUS (relating to the vote of the 9th of May, in favour of Colonel Luttrell) I send you the following extract from a pamphlet just published, which please to insert as soon as you can, and thereby oblige,

AN OLD CORRESPONDENT.

A speech without doors upon the subject of a vote given on the 9th day of May, 1769.

"YOUR question I will answer, having first premised, that if you are satisfied we did right in setting aside Mr. Wilkes's election, I cannot believe it will be a very difficult task to convince you that the admitting of Mr. Luttrell was the unavoidable consequence. 'No: (say you) for surely you might have declared it a void election. Why go greater lengths than in former times, even the most heated and violent, it was ever thought proper to go? Or upon what ground, either of reason or authority, can you justify the vote you gave, that Mr. Luttrell, who certainly had not the majority, was duly elected?' The question you have a right to put to me, and I mean to give it a direct answer.

"Now

As to G. A. I observe first, that if he did not admit of JUNIUS's state of the question, he should have shewn the fallacy of it, or given us a more exact one;—secondly, that, considering the many hours and days, which the ministry and

“Now the principle upon which I voted was this, that in all cases of election by a majority of votes, wherever the candidate for whom the most votes are given, appears to have been, at the time of the election, under a *known legal incapacity*, the person who had the next greatest number of votes ought to be considered as the person duly elected. And this, as a general principle, I take to be altogether uncontrovertible. We may differ in our ways of expressing the principle, or of explaining the grounds of it: some chusing to state it, that the electors voting for such incapable person, do, for that time, forfeit their right of voting; others, that their votes are thrown away; and others, that votes for a person not legally capable, are not legal votes. But in whatever way we assign the ground of the rule, the result and conclusion is still the same, that, in every such case, the election of the capable person by the inferior number of votes, is a good and valid election.

“Nor is this rule, founded as it is in sound sense and public necessity, to be put out of countenance by a little ingenious sophistry, playing upon the ambiguity of certain undefined terms, taunting us with the reproach of elections by a minority, of inverting the rules of arithmetic, and the like. Not even the sacredness of the rights of the electors can stand against its authority; for sacred as those rights ought ever to be held, the exercise of them, as well as of all the other rights of individuals, must ever be confined within such bounds, and governed by such rules, as are consistent with the attainment of the great public ends for which they were established. But could any thing be more preposterous than if, while you are securing to individuals the right they have to take part in determining who shall be appointed to discharge the several public offices and trusts, no care should be taken that the public, in all events, may be secure of having any persons appointed at all? Yet to this inconvenience, the public must be perpetually exposed, if the rule were to be strictly and invariably followed, that nothing but a majority of the electors could ever make a good election. That a majority of the whole number intitled to have voice in the election, is not necessary, will be readily admitted; for at that rate, the absence of one half of the electors might defeat the possibility of any election at all. Neither is it necessary, in order to a candidate's being duly elected, that he should have the votes of more than one half of the electors present; since, if it were, diversity of inclinations among the electors, and the putting up of three candidates, might as completely frustrate all possibility of supplying the vacancy, as the absence of one half of the electors would in the former case. Accordingly, therefore, we constantly see, that wherever there are more than two candidates for one vacancy, the election is determined, not so properly by a majority, as by a plurality of voices; and the candidate, who has more voices than any one of his competitors, although

their advocates have wasted, in public debate, in compiling large quartos, and collecting innumerable precedents, expressly to prove that the late proceedings of the House of Commons are warranted by the law, custom, and practice of parliament, it is rather an extraordinary supposition, to be made by one of their own party, even for the sake of argument, *that no such statute, no such custom of parliament, no such case in point can be produced.* G. A. may however make the supposition with safety. It contains nothing, but literally the fact, except that there is a case exactly in point,

though fewer than one half of the electors present, is always determined to be well and duly elected; there being indeed no other method allowed by the constitution, of voting against one candidate, but by voting for another; nor any liberty of declaring whom I would prefer in the second place, in case my first vote should prove ineffectual; either of which allowances might prevent any election being made.

“ Thus far then we are guarded against the public service being disappointed, either by the remissness of the electors in absenting themselves from the election, or by such a diversity of opinions among the electors present, as though innocent in itself, would yet be of fatal consequence to the public, should it be suffered to operate so far as to prevent any effectual election from taking place. But much in vain have these rules been established, if it is still to be in the power of the same number of electors, by a little management, to effect the same purpose, and put an effectual bar to all possibility of a valid election. Had they, by staying away, declared that they would take no part in supplying the vacancy, their fellow electors, who chose to exercise their franchise, and upon whom, in that case, the complete right would have devolved, might have exercised their right accordingly, and the public service would have been provided for. But shall they be allowed to come, and by declaring that they will vote against one candidate, but for no other, or by voting for a person whom they know to be incapable of holding the office, as truly, to all intents and purposes, deprive their fellows of their right, and the public of its due, as if, instead of coming, they had only sent a prohibition of proceeding to any election till it should be their good pleasure to suffer one? Against such a mockery of the public authority common sense reclaims, and has therefore provided against this abuse, by pointing out this farther qualification of the rule by which elections are to be decided. That, as the electors who give no vote at all, have no power of excluding any candidate for whom other electors do vote, so those who give their votes for a person whom they know to be by law incapable, are to be considered exactly on the same footing as if they gave no votes at all? Not to give any vote, to declare I vote for nobody, or to vote for the Great Mogul, must undoubtedly have the same effect.

“ Thus

with a decision of the House, diametrically opposite to that which the present House of Commons came to in favour of Mr. Luttrell.

The ministry now begin to be ashamed of the weakness of their cause, and, as it usually happens with falsehood, are driven to the necessity of shifting their ground, and changing their whole defence. At first we were told that nothing could be clearer than that the proceedings of the House of Commons were justified by the known law and uniform custom of parliament. But now it seems, if there be no law, the House of Commons have a right to make one, and if there be no precedent, they have a right to create the first;—for this, I presume, is the amount of the questions proposed to JUNIUS. If your correspondent had been at all versed in the law of parliament, or generally in the laws of this country, he would have seen that this defence is as weak and false as the former.

The privileges of either House of Parliament, it is true, are indefinite, that is, they have not been described or laid down in any one code or declaration whatsoever; but when-

“Thus then it appeared to me, that the general rule, that in case of a *known legal incapacity* in the person having the majority of voices, the capable person next upon the poll, although chosen by a minority, is duly elected, is consonant to reason, is the dictate of common sense.

“That it had also the sanction of authority, I was as clearly convinced. The practice of the courts of law, in such cases, seems not to be disputed; they have, by repeated decisions, established the principle.

“Upon these grounds, therefore, both of reason and authority, I not only thought myself fully justified in giving my vote, that Mr. Luttrell was duly elected, but in truth I could not think myself at liberty to vote otherwise, being convinced, that as, on the one hand, by so voting I should do no wrong to the 1143 freeholders of Middlesex, who, for the chance of being able to overbear the authority of the House of Commons, which had adjudged Mr. Wilkes to be incapable, had chosen to forego their right of taking part in the nomination of a capable person in his room; so, by a contrary decision, I should have done a most manifest injustice to Mr. Luttrell, and to the 296 freeholders who voted for him; and who, in failure of a nomination by an equal number of freeholders of any other capable candidate, had, upon every principle of reason, and every rule of law, as well as according to the uniform usage of parliament, conferred upon him a clear title to sit as one of the representatives for the county of Middlesex.” EDIT.

ever a question of privilege has arisen, it has invariably been disputed or maintained upon the footing of precedents alone*. In the course of the proceedings upon the Aylesbury election, the House of Lords resolved, "That neither House of Parliament had any power, by any vote or declaration, to create to themselves any new privilege that was not warranted by the known laws and customs of parliament." And to this rule the House of Commons, though otherwise they had acted in a very arbitrary manner, gave their assent, for they affirmed that they had guided themselves by it, in asserting their privileges.—Now, Sir, if this be true with respect to matters of privilege, in which the House of Commons, individually and as a body, are principally concerned, how much more strongly will it hold against any pretended power in that House, to create or declare a new law, by which not only the rights of the House over their own member, and those of the member himself are concluded, but also those of a third and separate party, I mean the freeholders of the kingdom. To do justice to the ministry, they have not yet pretended that any one or any two of the three estates have power to make a new law, without the concurrence of the third. They know that a man who maintains such a doctrine, is liable, by statute, to the heaviest penalties. They do not acknowledge that the House of Commons have assumed a *new* privilege, or declared a *new* law.—On the contrary, they affirm that their proceedings have been strictly conformable to and founded upon the ancient law and custom of parliament. Thus therefore the question returns to the point, at which JUNIUS had fixed it, viz. *Whether or no this be the law of parliament*. If it be not, the House of Commons had no legal authority to establish the precedent; and the precedent itself is a mere fact, without any proof of right whatsoever.

Your correspondent concludes with a question of the simplest nature: *Must a thing be wrong, because it has never*

* This is still meeting the ministry upon their own ground; for, in truth, no precedents will support either natural injustice, or violation of positive right.

been done before? No. But admitting it were proper to be done, that alone does not convey an authority to do it. As to the present case, I hope I shall never see the time, when not only a single person, but a whole county, and in effect the entire collective body of the people may again be robbed of their birthright by a vote of the House of Commons. But if, for reasons which I am unable to comprehend, it be necessary to trust that House with a power so exorbitant and so unconstitutional, at least let it be given to them by an act of the legislature.

PHILO JUNIUS.

LETTER XVIII.

TO DR. WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, SOLICITOR GENERAL TO HER
MAJESTY.

SIR,

29 July, 1769.

I SHALL make you no apology for considering a certain pamphlet, in which your late conduct is defended, as written by yourself*. The personal interest, the personal resentments, and above all, that wounded spirit, unaccustomed to reproach, and I hope not frequently conscious of deserving

* This was at last admitted by the friends of the Solicitor General. The pamphlet was entitled, "An answer to the question stated;" and was a reply to a pamphlet from Sir William Meredith, one of the most active members of parliament of the Whig party, entitled, "The question stated," in reference to the adjudication of Wilkes's incapacity to sit in parliament after his last election; in the course of which also, the inconsistency of opinion between that delivered by the Solicitor General in his Commentaries, and that on the point in question was severely animadverted upon.

The press was overwhelmed with tracts on this dispute from both sides. Of these, the chief, independently of Sir William Meredith's, and the reply to it by Sir William Blackstone, were "The case of the last election for the county of Middlesex considered," attributed to Mr. Dyson, who was nicknamed, by his opponents, Mungo: "Serious Considerations;" "Mungo on the use of Quotations;" "Mungo's case considered;" "Letter to JUNIUS;" "Postscript to JUNIUS," published in a subsequent edition to Sir William Blackstone's reply, and "The False Alarm," written by Doctor Johnson. Of all these some incidental notice is taken in the course of the volumes before us. EDIT.

it, are signals which betray the author to us as plainly as if your name were in the title-page. You appeal to the public in defence of your reputation. We hold it, Sir, that an injury offered to an individual is interesting to society. On this principle the people of England made common cause with Mr. Wilkes. On this principle, if *you* are injured, they will join in your resentment. I shall not follow you through the insipid form of a third person, but address myself to you directly.

You seem to think the channel of a pamphlet more respectable and better suited to the dignity of your cause, than that of a news-paper. Be it so. Yet if news-papers are scurrilous, you must confess they are impartial. They give us, without any apparent preference, the wit and argument of the ministry, as well as the abusive dulness of the opposition. The scales are equally poised. It is not the printer's fault if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack upon Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It would have been more consistent perhaps with your professed intentions, to have confined yourself to the last. But anger has some claim to indulgence, and railing is usually a relief to the mind. I hope you have found benefit from the experiment. It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville, upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being personally known to him*, nor do I pretend to be completely master of all the facts. I need not run the risk of doing an injustice to his opinions, or to his conduct, when your pamphlet alone carries, upon the face of it, a full vindication of both.

Your first reflection is, that Mr. Grenville† was, of all

* This, as already observed in the Preliminary Essay, is a truly singular assertion when taken in connection with the fact, that Mr. Grenville, of all the political characters of the day, appears to have been our author's favourite. He voluntarily omits every opportunity of censuring him, and readily embraces every occasion of defending and extolling his conduct and principles. EDIT.

† Mr. Grenville had quoted a passage from the Doctor's excellent commentaries, which directly contradicted the doctrine maintained by the Doctor in the House of Commons.

men, the person, who should not have complained of inconsistency with regard to Mr. Wilkes*. This, Sir, is either an unmeaning sneer, a peevish expression of resentment, or, if it means any thing, you plainly beg the question; for whether his parliamentary conduct with regard to Mr. Wilkes has or has not been inconsistent, remains yet to be proved. But it seems he received upon the spot a sufficient chastisement for exercising *so unfairly*† his talent of misrepresentation. You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do, upon what particular occasions a talent for misrepresentation may be *fairly* exerted; but to punish a man a second time, when he has been once sufficiently chastised, is rather too severe. It is not in the laws of England; it is not in your own commentaries, nor is it yet, I believe, in the new law you have revealed to the House of Commons. I hope this doctrine has no existence but in your own heart. After all, Sir, if you had consulted that sober discretion, which you seem to oppose with triumph to the honest jollity of a tavern, it might have occurred to you that, although you could have succeeded in fixing a charge of inconsistency upon Mr. Grenville, it would not have tended in any shape to exculpate yourself.

Your next insinuation, that Sir William Meredith had hastily adopted the false glosses of his new ally, is of the

* It has been already observed that the opposition to Wilkes commenced with Mr. George Grenville, who advised the issue of the General Warrant. It is observed also in the same note, that Grenville afterwards deserted the ministry, and attached himself strenuously to the Whig party. See note in Vol. I. p. 105. Upon this apparent inconsistency JUNIUS shrewdly remarks, that whatever propriety or impropriety there might have been in Mr. Grenville's opposing Wilkes *personally*—the present question has nothing to do with it—as he now supports him not on account of his personal character, but as the instrument *of the people* at large, whose rights and privileges the ministry have grossly violated by their conduct towards him. EDIT.

† An inaccurate expression in the pamphlet alluded to. The chastisement that ensued is related in Vol. I. p. 127. Blackstone was thunder-struck at the contradiction pointed out by Grenville, and was incapable of uttering a word in his defence:—a pause ensued, and Mr. Grenville insultingly shook his head: for the rest see the page as above referred to.

—EDIT.

same sort with the first. It conveys a sneer as little worthy of the gravity of your character, as it is useless to your defence. It is of little moment to the public to enquire, by whom the charge was conceived, or by whom it was adopted. The only question we ask is, whether or no it be true. The remainder of your reflections upon Mr. Grenville's conduct destroy themselves. He could not possibly come prepared to traduce your integrity to the House. He could not foresee that you would even speak upon the question, much less could he foresee that you would maintain a direct contradiction of that doctrine, which you had solemnly, disinterestedly, and upon soberest reflection delivered to the public. He came armed indeed with what he thought a respectable authority, to support what he was convinced was the cause of truth, and I doubt not he intended to give you, in the course of the debate, an honourable and public testimony of his esteem. Thinking highly of his abilities, I cannot however allow him the gift of divination. As to what you are pleased to call a plan coolly formed to impose upon the House of Commons, and his producing it without provocation at midnight, I consider it as the language of pique and invective, therefore unworthy of regard. But, Sir, I am sensible I have followed your example too long, and wandered from the point.

The quotation from your commentaries is matter of record. It can neither be *altered* by your friends, nor misrepresented by your enemies; and I am willing to take your own word for what you have said in the House of Commons. If there be a real difference between what you have written and what you have spoken, you confess that your book ought to be the standard. Now, Sir, if words mean any thing, I apprehend that, when a long enumeration of disqualifications (whether by statute or the custom of parliament) concludes with these general comprehensive words, "but subject to these restrictions and disqualifications, *every* subject of the realm is eligible of common right," a reader of plain understanding, must of course rest satisfied that no species of disqualification whatsoever had been omitted. The known

character of the author, and the apparent accuracy with which the whole work is compiled, would confirm him in his opinion; nor could he possibly form any other judgment, without looking upon your commentaries in the same light in which you consider those penal laws, which though not repealed, are fallen into disuse, and are now in effect A SNARE TO THE UNWARY*.

You tell us indeed that it was not part of your plan to specify any temporary incapacity, and that you could not, without a spirit of prophecy, have specified the disability of a private individual, subsequent to the period at which you wrote. What your plan was I know not; but what it should have been, in order to complete the work you have given us, is by no means difficult to determine. The incapacity, which you call temporary, may continue seven years; and though you might not have foreseen the particular case of Mr. Wilkes, you might and should have foreseen the possibility of *such* a case, and told us how far the House of Commons were authorized to proceed in it by the law and custom of parliament. The freeholders of Middlesex would then have known what they had to trust to, and would never have returned Mr. Wilkes, when colonel Luttrell was a candidate against him. They would have chosen some indifferent person, rather than submit to be represented by the object of their contempt and detestation.

Your attempt to distinguish between disabilities, which affect whole classes of men, and those which affect individuals only, is really unworthy of your understanding. Your commentaries had taught me that, although the instance, in which a penal law is exerted, be particular, the laws themselves are general. They are made for the benefit and instruction of the public, though the penalty falls only upon an

* If, in stating the law upon any point, a judge deliberately affirms that he has included *every* case, and it should appear that he has purposely omitted a material case, he does in effect lay *a snare for the unwary*.—
AUTHOR.

This last part of the sentence is a quotation artfully selected from Blackstone's own works, and turned against himself. EDIT.

individual. You cannot but know, Sir, that what was Mr. Wilkes's case yesterday may be yours or mine to-morrow, and that consequently the common right of every subject of the realm is invaded by it. Professing therefore to treat of the constitution of the House of Commons, and of the laws and customs relative to that constitution, you certainly were guilty of a most unpardonable omission in taking no notice of a right and privilege of the House, more extraordinary and more arbitrary than all the others they possess put together. If the expulsion of a member, not under any other legal disability, of itself creates in him an incapacity to be re-elected, I see a ready way marked out, by which the majority may at any time remove the honestest and ablest men who happen to be in opposition to them. To say that they *will not* make this extravagant use of their power, would be a language unfit for a man so learned in the laws as you are. By your doctrine, Sir, they *have* the power, and laws you know are intended to guard against what men *may* do, not to trust to what they *will* do.

Upon the whole, Sir, the charge against you is of a plain, simple nature: It appears even upon the face of your own pamphlet. On the contrary, your justification of yourself is full of subtlety and refinement, and in some places not very intelligible. If I were personally your enemy, I should dwell, with a malignant pleasure, upon those great and useful qualifications, which you certainly possess, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you the respect and esteem of your country. I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced: but having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XIX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

14 August, 1769.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *St. James's Chronicle* first wilfully misunderstands JUNIUS, then censures him for a bad reasoner*. JUNIUS does not say that it was incumbent upon

* The following is a copy of the letter alluded to:—

For the St. James's Chronicle.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

ONCE more Mr. JUNIUS, and but once, let me address a few words to you on the subject of your Antiblackstonian letter, reminding you at the same time, that I am no formal defender of the celebrated commentator (who wants no such defence), but that it is my sole purpose to shew that you are not a competent reader of his works, or that you have wilfully and malevolently perverted them.

You tell Mr. Blackstone that "his attempt to distinguish between disabilities that affect whole classes of men, and those which affect individuals only, is really unworthy his understanding." And yet, Sir, that is no new distinction; it is not framed and invented by Mr. Blackstone. Private or personal laws, whether inflicting penalties and disabilities, or conferring privileges and immunities, on the particular object of them, and distinguished from the general and permanent course of law, have been known under all states, and under every legislation, both ancient and modern. They are enacted *pro re nata*, and lose all their force as soon as they have operated upon the individuals marked out by them. But, "you have been taught, you say, (yet surely not from the commentaries) that, although the instance in which a penal law is exerted, be particular, the laws themselves (I must suppose you to speak of the laws now under debate) are general." But, before you could write thus, what demon of confusion must have seized your noddle! Were the votes of the House, by which Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Ward, and many others, have been expelled, and the act of parliament which inflicted a perpetual exclusion on the S. S. Directors, general laws? Was the vote to expel Mr. Wilkes in the last parliament, a general law? So far from it, that its force was quite evaporated, and it could not operate even upon him, in the present. Another vote of expulsion was necessary; and the two votes put together could no more expel Mr. Townshend and Mr. Sawbridge from the House of Commons, than the decree of the Roman senate, on Cataline and the rest of the conspirators, could send *our* hero and his whole gang to Tyburn.

Acts of attainder come under the same description of personal, temporary and particular laws; and that I may help you the better to understand this

Doctor Blackstone to foresee and state the crimes, for which Mr. Wilkes was expelled. If, by a spirit of prophecy, he had even done so, it would have been nothing to the purpose. The question is, not for what particular offences a person may be expelled, but generally whether by the law of parliament expulsion alone creates a disqualification. If the affirmative be the law of parliament, Doctor Blackstone might and should have told us so. The question is not confined to this or that particular person, but forms one great general branch of disqualification, too important in itself, and too extensive in its consequences, to be omitted in an accurate work expressly treating of the law of parliament.

The truth of the matter is evidently this. Doctor Blackstone, while he was speaking in the House of Commons, never once thought of his commentaries, until the contradiction was unexpectedly urged, and stared him in the face. Instead of defending himself upon the spot, he sunk under the charge, in an agony of confusion and despair. It is well known that there was a pause of some minutes in the House, from a general expectation that the Doctor would say something in his own defence; but it seems, his faculties were too much overpowered to think of those subtleties and refinements, which have since occurred to him. It was then Mr. Grenville received that severe chastisement, which the Doctor mentions with so much triumph. *I wish the honourable gentleman, instead of shaking his head, would shake a good argument out of it.* If to the elegance, novelty, and bitterness of this ingenious sarcasm, we add the natural melo-

this whole matter, and shew you, at the same time, the accuracy and consistency of Mr. Blackstone, I shall give you his account of them: (Comm. b. iv. p. 256.) "As for acts of parliament to attain particular persons of treason and felony, or to inflict pains and penalties, beyond or contrary to the common law, to serve a special purpose, *I speak not of them;* (mark that, JUNIUS,) being to all intents and purposes, new laws, made *pro re nata*, and by no means an execution of those already in being." I shall now take my leave of you, having, I hope, sufficiently proved to Mr. Baldwin's readers, in the instance you have afforded me, how prettily sometimes a man may write, without being able to read.

PUBLIS

Middle-Temple, August 6, 1769.

EDM.

dy of the amiable Sir Fletcher Norton's pipe, we shall not be surprised that Mr. Grenville was unable to make him any reply.

As to the Doctor, I would recommend it to him to be quiet. If not, he may perhaps hear again from JUNIUS himself.

PHILO JUNIUS.

Postscript* to a Pamphlet intituled, 'An Answer to the Question stated.' Supposed to be written by Dr. Blackstone, Solicitor to the Queen, in answer to JUNIUS's Letter.

SINCE these papers were sent to the press, a writer in the public papers, who subscribes himself JUNIUS, has made a feint of bringing this question to a short issue. Though the foregoing observations contain in my opinion, at least, a full refutation of all that this writer has offered, I shall, however, bestow a very few words upon him. It will cost me very little trouble to unravel and expose the sophistry of his argument.

'I take the question,' says he, 'to be strictly this: Whether or no it be the known established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons of itself creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that, at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void; and that any other candidate, who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member.'

Waving for the present any objection I may have to this state of the question, I shall venture to meet our champion upon his own ground; and attempt to support the affirmative of it, in one of the two ways, by which he says it can be alone fairly supported. 'If there be no statute,' says he, 'in which the specific disability is clearly created, &c. (and we

* This is the Postscript, added in a subsequent edition, to Sir William Blackstone's reply to Sir William Meredith's pamphlet, as noticed in note to page 120 of the present volume. EDIT.

acknowledge there is none) the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them.' Now I assert, that this has been done. Mr. Walpole's case is strictly in point, to prove that expulsion creates absolute incapacity of being re-elected. This was the clear decision of the House upon it; and was a full declaration, that incapacity was the necessary consequence of expulsion. The law was as clearly and firmly fixed by this resolution, and is as binding in every subsequent case of expulsion, as if it had been declared by an express statute, "That a member expelled by a resolution of the House of Commons shall be deemed incapable of being re-elected." Whatever doubt then there might have been of the law before Mr. Walpole's case, with respect to the full operation of a vote of expulsion, there can be none now. The decision of the House upon this case is strictly in point to prove, that expulsion creates absolute incapacity in law of being re-elected.

But incapacity in law in this instance must have the same operation and effect with incapacity in law in every other instance. Now, incapacity of being re-elected implies in its very terms, that any votes given to the incapable person, at a subsequent election, are null and void. This is its necessary operation, or it has no operation at all. It is *vox et præterea nihil*. We can no more be called upon to prove this proposition, than we can to prove that a dead man is not alive, or that twice two are four. When the terms are understood, the proposition is self-evident.

Lastly, It is in all cases of election, the known and established law of the land, grounded upon the clearest principles of reason and common sense, that if the votes given to one candidate are null and void, they cannot be opposed to the votes given to another candidate. They cannot affect the votes of such candidate at all. As they have, on the one hand, no positive quality to add or establish, so have they, on the other hand, no negative one to subtract or destroy. They are, in a word, a mere non-entity. Such was the determination of the House of Commons in the Malden and Bed-

ford elections; cases strictly in point to the present question, as far as they are meant to be in point. And to say, that they are not in point, in all circumstances, in those particularly which are independent of the proposition which they are quoted to prove, is to say no more than that Malden is not Middlesex, nor Serjeant Comyns Mr. Wilkes.

Let us see then how our proof stands. Expulsion creates incapacity; incapacity annihilates any votes given to the incapable person. The votes given to the qualified candidate stand upon their own bottom, firm and untouched, and can alone have effect. This, one would think, would be sufficient. But we are stopped short, and told, that none of our precedents come home to the present case; and are challenged to produce “a precedent in all the proceedings of the House of Commons that does come home to it, viz. *where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member.*”

Instead of a precedent, I will beg leave to put a case; which, I fancy, will be quite as decisive to the present point. Suppose another Sacheverel, (and every party must have its Sacheverel) should, at some future election, take it into his head to offer himself a candidate for the county of Middlesex. He is opposed by a candidate, whose coat is of a different colour; but however of a very good colour. The divine has an indisputable majority; nay, the poor layman is absolutely distanced. The sheriff, after having had his conscience well informed by the reverend casuist, returns him, as he supposes, duly elected. The whole House is in an uproar, at the apprehension of so strange an appearance amongst them. A motion however is at length made, that the person was incapable of being elected, that his election therefore is null and void, and that his competitor ought to have been returned. No, says a great orator, First shew me your law for this proceeding. “Either produce me a statute, in which the specific disability of a clergyman is created; or produce me a precedent *where a clergyman has been returned, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been de-*

clared the sitting member." No such statute, no such precedent is to be found. What answer then is to be given to this demand? The very same answer which I will give to that of JUNIUS: That there is more than one precedent in the proceedings of the House—"where an incapable person has been returned, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member; and that this is the known and established law, in all cases of incapacity, from whatever cause it may arise."

I shall now therefore beg leave to make a slight amendment to JUNIUS's state of the question, the affirmative of which will then stand thus:

"It is the known and established law of parliament, that the expulsion of any member of the House of Commons creates in him an incapacity of being re elected; that any votes given to him at a subsequent election are, in consequence of such incapacity, null and void; and that any other candidate, who, except the person rendered incapable, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member."

But our business is not yet quite finished. Mr. Walpole's case must have a re-hearing. "It is not possible," says this writer, "to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled, and having a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the house that he might be the sitting member. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our House of Commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law, however, was the same. It came regularly before the house, and it was their business to determine upon it. They did determine it; for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*."

Instead of examining the justness of this representation, I shall beg leave to oppose against it my own view of this case, in as plain a manner and as few words as I am able.

It was the known and established law of parliament, when the charge against Mr. Walpole came before the House of Commons, that they had power to expel, to disable, and to

render incapable for offences. In virtue of this power they expelled him.

Had they, in the very vote of expulsion, adjudged him, in terms, to be incapable of being re-elected, there must have been at once an end with him. But though the right of the House, both to expel, and adjudge incapable, was clear and indubitable, it does not appear to me, that the full operation and effect of a vote of expulsion singly was so. The law in this case had never been expressly declared. There had been no event to call up such a declaration. I trouble not myself with the grammatical meaning of the word expulsion. I regard only its legal meaning. This was not, as I think, precisely fixed. The house thought proper to fix it, and explicitly to declare the full consequences of their former vote, before they suffered these consequences to take effect. And in this proceeding they acted upon the most liberal and solid principles of equity, justice and law. What then did the burgesses of Lynn collect from the second vote? Their subsequent conduct will tell us: it will with certainty tell us, that they considered it as decisive against Mr. Walpole; it will also, with equal certainty, tell us, that, upon supposition that the law of election stood then, as it does now, and that they knew it to stand thus, they inferred, "that at a future election, and in case of a similar return, the house would receive the same candidate, as duly elected, whom they had before rejected." They could infer nothing but this.

It is needless to repeat the circumstance of dissimilarity in the present case. It will be sufficient to observe, that as the law of parliament, upon which the House of Commons grounded every step of their proceedings, was clear beyond the reach of doubt, so neither could the freeholders of Middlesex be at a loss to foresee what must be the inevitable consequence of their proceedings in opposition to it. For upon every return of Mr. Wilkes, the house made enquiry, whether any votes were given to any other candidate?

But I could venture for the experiment's sake, even to give this writer the utmost he asks; to allow the most perfect similarity throughout in these two cases; to allow, that the

law of expulsion was quite as clear to the burgesses of Lynn, as to the freeholders of Middlesex. It will, I am confident, avail his cause but little. It will only prove, that, the law of election at that time was different from the present law. It will prove, that, in all cases of an incapable candidate returned, the law then was, that the whole election should be void. But now we know that this is not law. The cases of Malden and Bedford were, as has been seen, determined upon other and more just principles. And these determinations are, I imagine, admitted on all sides, to be law.

I would willingly draw a veil over the remaining part of this paper. It is astonishing, it is painful, to see men of parts and ability, giving into the most unworthy artifices, and descending so much below their true line of character. But if they are not the dupes of their sophistry, (which is hardly to be conceived) let them consider that they are something much worse.

The dearest interests of this country are its laws and its constitution. Against every attack upon these, there will, I hope, be always found amongst us the firmest *spirit of resistance*; superior to the united efforts of faction and ambition. For ambition, though it does not always take the lead of faction, will be sure in the end to make the most fatal advantage of it, and draw it to its own purposes. But, I trust, our day of trial is yet far off; and there is a *fund of good sense in this country, which cannot long be deceived*, by the arts either of false reasoning or false patriotism.

LETTER XX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

8 August, 1769.

THE gentleman who has published an answer to Sir William Meredith's pamphlet, having honoured me with a postscript of six quarto pages, which he moderately calls, bestowing a *very* few words upon me, I cannot, in common politeness, refuse him a reply. The form and magnitude of

a quarto imposes upon the mind; and men, who are unequal to the labour of discussing an intricate argument, or wish to avoid it, are willing enough to suppose, that much has been proved, because much has been said. Mine, I confess, are humble labours. I do not presume to instruct the learned, but simply to inform the body of the people; and I prefer that channel of conveyance, which is likely to spread farthest among them. The advocates of the ministry seem to me to write for fame, and to flatter themselves, that the size of their works will make them immortal. They pile up reluctant quarto upon solid folio, as if their labours, because they are gigantic, could contend with truth and heaven.

The writer of the volume in question meets me upon my own ground. He acknowledges there is no statute, by which the specific disability we speak of is created, but he affirms, that the custom of parliament has been referred to, and that a case strictly in point has been produced, with the decision of the court upon it.—I thank him for coming so fairly to the point. He asserts, that the case of Mr. Walpole is strictly in point to prove that expulsion creates an absolute incapacity of being re-elected; and for this purpose he refers generally to the first vote of the house upon that occasion, without venturing to recite the vote itself. The unfair, disingenuous artifice of adopting that part of a precedent, which seems to suit his purpose, and omitting the remainder, deserves some pity, but cannot excite my resentment. He takes advantage eagerly of the first resolution, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity is declared; but as to the two following, by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared "not duly elected," and the election itself vacated, I dare say he would be well satisfied, if they were for ever blotted out of the journals of the House of Commons. In fair argument, no part of a precedent should be admitted, unless the whole of it be given to us together. The author has divided his precedent, for he knew, that, taken together, it produced a consequence directly the reverse of that, which he endeavours to draw from a vote of expulsion. But what will this honest person say, if I take him at his word, and demonstrate to him, that

the House of Commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity upon his expulsion only? What subterfuge will then remain?

Let it be remembered that we are speaking of the intention of men, who lived more than half a century ago, and that such intention can only be collected from their words and actions, as they are delivered to us upon record. To prove their designs by a supposition of what they would have done, opposed to what they actually did, is mere trifling and impertinence. The vote, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity was declared, is thus expressed, "That Robert Walpole, Esq. having been this session of parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower, and expelled this house for a high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when secretary at war, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament*." Now, sir, to my understanding, no proposition of this kind can be more evident, than that the House of Commons, by this very vote, themselves understood, and meant to declare, that Mr. Walpole's incapacity arose from the crimes he had committed, not from the punishment the house annexed to them. The high breach of trust, the notorious corruption are stated in the strongest terms. They do not tell us he was incapable because he was expelled, but because he had been guilty of such offences as justly rendered him unworthy of a seat in parliament. If they had intended to fix the disability upon his expulsion alone, the mention of

* It is well worth remarking, that the compiler of a certain quarto, called *The case of the late election for the county of Middlesex considered*, has the impudence to recite this very vote, in the following terms, vide page 11, "Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq. having been that session of parliament expelled the house, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in that present parliament." There cannot be a stronger positive proof of the treachery of the compiler, nor a stronger presumptive proof that he was convinced that the vote, if truly recited, would overturn his whole argument. AUTHOR.

The editor has already remarked that the pamphlet alluded to in the above note of the author was from the pen of Mr. Dyson. See note to p. 120, of the present volume. EDIT.

his crimes in the same vote would have been highly improper. It could only perplex the minds of the electors, who, if they collected any thing from so confused a declaration of the law of parliament, must have concluded that their representative had been declared incapable because he was highly guilty, not because he had been punished. But even admitting them to have understood it in the other sense, they must then, from the very terms of the vote, have united the idea of his being sent to the Tower with that of his expulsion, and considered his incapacity as the joint effect of both*.

*TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

22 May, 1771.

VERY early in the debate upon the decision of the Middlesex election, it was observed by JUNIUS, that the House of Commons had not only exceeded their boasted precedent of the expulsion and subsequent incapacitation of Mr Walpole, but that they had not even adhered to it strictly as far as it went. After convicting Mr. Dyson of giving a false quotation from the Journals, and having explained the purpose, which that contemptible fraud was intended to answer, he proceeds to state the vote itself, by which Mr. Walpole's supposed incapacity was declared, viz.—“Resolved, that Robert Walpole, esq. having been this session of parliament committed a prisoner to the Tower, and expelled this house for a high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when secretary at war, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament:”—and then observes that, from the terms of the vote, we have no right to annex the incapacitation to the *expulsion* only, for that, as the proposition stands, it must arise equally from the expulsion and the commitment to the Tower. I believe, Sir, no man, who knows any thing of Dialectics, or who understands English, will dispute the truth and fairness of this construction. But JUNIUS has a great authority to support him, which, to speak with the Duke of Grafton, I accidentally met with this morning in the course of my reading. It contains an admonition, which cannot be repeated too often. Lord Sommers, in his excellent tract upon the rights of the people, after reciting the vote of the convention of the 28th of January, 1689, viz.—“That King James the second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, hath abdicated the government, &c.”—makes this observation upon it. “The word *abdicated* relates to *all* the clauses foregoing, as well as to his deserting the kingdom, or else they would have been wholly in vain.” And that there might be no pretence for confining the *abdication* merely to the *withdrawing*, Lord

Sommers

I do not mean to give an opinion upon the justice of the proceedings of the House of Commons with regard to Mr. Walpole; but certainly, if I admitted their censure to be well founded, I could no way avoid agreeing with them in the consequence they drew from it. I could never have a doubt, in law or reason, that a man, convicted of a high breach of trust, and of a notorious corruption, in the execution of a public office, was and ought to be incapable of sitting in the same parliament. Far from attempting to invalidate that vote, I should have wished that the incapacity declared by it could legally have been continued for ever.

Sommers farther observes, *that King James, by refusing to govern us according to that law, by which he held the crown, implicitly renounced his title to it.*

If JUNIUS's construction of the vote against Mr. Walpole be now admitted, (and indeed I cannot comprehend how it can honestly be disputed) the advocates of the House of Commons must either give up their precedent entirely, or be reduced to the necessity of maintaining one of the grossest absurdities imaginable, viz. "That a commitment to the Tower is a constituent part of, and contributes half at least to the incapacitation of the person who suffers it."

I need not make you any excuse for endeavouring to keep alive the attention of the public to the decision of the Middlesex election. The more I consider it, the more I am convinced that, as a *fact*, it is indeed highly injurious to the rights of the people; but that, as a *precedent*, it is one of the most dangerous that ever was established against those who are to come after us. Yet I am so far a moderate man, that I verily believe the majority of the House of Commons, when they passed this dangerous vote, neither understood the question, nor knew the consequence of what they were doing. Their motives were rather despicable, than criminal, in the extreme. One effect they certainly did not foresee. They are now reduced to such a situation, that if a member of the present House of Commons were to conduct himself ever so improperly, and in reality deserve to be sent back to his constituents with a mark of disgrace, they would not dare to expel him; because they know that the people, in order to try again the great question of right, or to thwart an odious House of Commons, would probably overlook his immediate unworthiness, and return the same person to parliament.—But, in time, the precedent will gain strength. A future House of Commons will have no such apprehensions, consequently will not scruple to follow a precedent, which they did not establish. The miser himself seldom lives to enjoy the fruit of his extortion; but his heir succeeds to him of course, and takes possession without censure. No man expects him to make restitution, and, no matter for his title, he lives quietly upon the estate.

PHILO JUNIUS.

Now, Sir, observe how forcibly the argument returns. The House of Commons, upon the face of their proceedings, had the strongest motives to declare Mr. Walpole incapable of being re-elected. They thought such a man unworthy to sit among them. To that point they proceeded;—no farther; for they respected the rights of the people, while they asserted their own. They did not infer, from Mr. Walpole's incapacity, that his opponent was duly elected; on the contrary, they declared Mr. Taylor "Not duly elected," and the election itself void.

Such, however, is the precedent, which my honest friend assures us is strictly in point to prove, that expulsion of itself creates an incapacity of being elected. If it had been so, the present House of Commons should at least have followed strictly the example before them, and should have stated to us, in the same vote, the crimes for which they expelled Mr. Wilkes; whereas they resolve simply, that, "having been expelled, he was and is incapable." In this proceeding I am authorised to affirm, they have neither statute, nor custom, nor reason, nor one single precedent to support them. On the other side, there is indeed a precedent so strongly in point, that all the enchanted castles of ministerial magic fall before it. In the year 1698, (a period which the rankest Tory dare not except against) Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament. The ministry have precluded themselves from all objections drawn from the cause of his expulsion, for they affirm absolutely, that expulsion of itself creates the disability. Now, Sir, let sophistry evade, let falsehood assert, and impudence deny—here stands the precedent, a landmark to direct us through a troubled sea of controversy, conspicuous and unremoved.

I have dwelt the longer upon the discussion of this point, because, in *my* opinion, it comprehends the whole question. The rest is unworthy of notice. We are enquiring whether incapacity be or be not created by expulsion. In the cases of Bedford and Malden, the incapacity of the persons returned, was matter of public notoriety, for it was created by act of

parliament. But, really, Sir, my honest friend's suppositions are as unfavourable to him as his facts. He well knows that the clergy, besides that they are represented in common with their fellow-subjects, have also a separate parliament of their own;—that their incapacity to sit in the House of Commons has been confirmed by repeated decisions of the house, and that the law of parliament, declared by those decisions, has been for above two centuries notorious and undisputed. The author is certainly at liberty to fancy cases, and make whatever comparisons he thinks proper; his suppositions still continue as distant from fact, as his wild discourses are from solid argument.

The conclusion of his book is candid to an extreme. He offers to grant me all I desire. He thinks he may safely admit that the case of Mr. Walpole makes directly against him, for it seems he has one grand solution *in petto* for all difficulties. *If, says he, I were to allow all this, it will only prove, that the law of election was different, in Queen Anne's time, from what it is at present.*

This indeed is more than I expected. The principle, I know, has been maintained in fact, but I never expected to see it so formally declared. What can he mean? does he assume this language to satisfy the doubts of the people, or does he mean to rouse their indignation; are the ministry daring enough to affirm, that the House of Commons have a right to make and unmake the law of parliament at their pleasure?—Does the law of parliament, which we are so often told is the law of the land;—does the common right of every subject of the realm depend upon an arbitrary capricious vote of one branch of the legislature?—The voice of truth and reason must be silent.

The ministry tell us plainly that this is no longer a question of right, but of power and force alone. What was law yesterday is not law to-day: and now it seems we have no better rule to live by than the temporary discretion and fluctuating integrity of the House of Commons.

Professions of patriotism are become stale and ridiculous. For my own part, I claim no merit from endeavouring to do

a service to my fellow-subjects. I have done it to the best of my understanding; and, without looking for the approbation of other men, my conscience is satisfied. What remains to be done concerns the collective body of the people. They are now to determine for themselves, whether they will firmly and constitutionally assert their rights; or make an humble, slavish surrender of them at the feet of the ministry. To a generous mind there cannot be a doubt. We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights, which they have delivered to our care: we owe it to our posterity, not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed. But if it were possible for us to be insensible of these sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which nothing can acquit us,—a personal interest, which we cannot surrender. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much more enormous than suicide, as a life of civil security and freedom is superior to a bare existence; and if life be the bounty of heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living, without which the condition of human nature is not only miserable, but contemptible.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

22 August, 1769.

I MUST beg of you to print a few lines, in explanation of some passages in my last letter, which I see have been misunderstood.

1. When I said, that the House of Commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity on his expulsion *only*, I meant no more than to deny the general proposition, that expulsion *alone* creates the incapacity. If there be any thing ambiguous in the expression, I beg leave to explain it by saying, that, in my opinion, expulsion neither creates, nor in any part contributes to create the incapacity in question.

2. I carefully avoided entering into the merits of Mr. Walpole's case. I did not enquire, whether the House of Commons acted justly, or whether they truly declared the law of parliament. My remarks went only to their apparent meaning and intention, as it stands declared in their own resolution.

3. I never meant to affirm, that a commitment to the Tower created a disqualification. On the contrary, I considered that idea as an absurdity, into which the ministry must inevitably fall, if they reasoned right upon their own principles.

The case of Mr. Wollaston speaks for itself. The ministry assert that *expulsion alone* creates an absolute, complete incapacity to be re-elected to sit in the same parliament. This proposition they have uniformly maintained, without any condition or modification whatsoever. Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament.—I leave it to the public to determine, whether this be a plain matter of fact, or mere nonsense and declamation.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

4 Sept. 1769.

ARGUMENT against FACT; or, A new system of political Logic, by which the ministry have demonstrated, to the satisfaction of their friends, that expulsion alone creates a complete incapacity to be re elected; *alias*, that a subject of this realm may be robbed of his common right, by a vote of the House of Commons.

FIRST FACT.

Mr. Wollaston, in 1698, was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat.

ARGUMENT.

As this cannot conveniently be reconciled with our general proposition, it may be necessary to shift our ground, and look back to the *cause* of Mr. Wollaston's expulsion. From thence it will appear clearly that, "although he was expelled, he had not rendered himself a culprit too ignominious to sit in parliament, and that having resigned his employment, he was no longer incapacitated by law." *Vide Serious Considerations, page 23.* Or thus, "The house, somewhat *inaccurately*, used the word **EXPULLED**; they should have called it **A MOTION**." *Vide Mungo's case considered, page 11.* Or in short, if these arguments should be thought insufficient, we may fairly deny the fact. For example; "I affirm that he was not re-elected. The same Mr. Wollaston, who was expelled, ~~was~~ not again elected. The same individual, if you please, ~~walked~~ into the house, and took his seat there, but the same person in law was not admitted a member of that parliament, from which he had been discarded." *Vide Letter to JUNIUS, page 12.*

SECOND FACT.

Mr. Walpole having been committed to the Tower, and expelled for a high breach of trust and notorious corruption in a public office, was declared incapable, &c.

ARGUMENT.

From the terms of this vote, nothing can be more evident than that the House of Commons meant to fix the incapacity upon the punishment, and not upon the crime; but lest it should appear in a different light to weak, uninformed persons, it may be adviseable to gut the resolution, and give it to the public, with all possible solemnity, in the following terms, viz. "Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq. having been that session of parliament expelled the house, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in that present parliament." *Vide Mungo, on the use of quotations, page 11.*

N. B. The author of the answer to Sir William Meredith* seems to have made use of Mungo's quotation, for in page 18, he assures us, "That the declaratory vote of the 17th of February, 1769, was indeed a literal copy of the resolution of the house in Mr. Walpole's case."

THIRD FACT.

His opponent, Mr. Taylor, having the smallest number of votes at the next election, was declared NOT DULY ELECTED.

ARGUMENT.

This fact we consider as directly in point to prove that Mr. Luttrell ought to be the sitting member, for the following reasons, "The burgesses of Lynn could draw no other inference from this resolution, but this, that at a future election, and in case of a similar return, the house would receive the same candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected." *Vide Postscript to JUNIUS, p. 37.* Or thus: "This their resolution leaves no room to doubt what part they *would* have taken, if, upon a subsequent re-election of Mr. Walpole, there had been any other candidate in competition with him. For, by their vote, they could have no other intention than to admit such other candidate." *Vide Mungo's case considered, p. 39.* Or take it in this light.—The burgesses of Lynn, having, in defiance of the house, retorted upon them a person, whom they had branded with the most ignominious marks of their displeasure, were thereby so well intitled to favour and indulgence, that the house could do no less than rob Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him, in order that the burgesses might be apprized of the law of parliament; which law the house took a very direct way of explaining to them, by resolving that the candidate with the fewest votes was not duly elected:—"And was not this much more equitable, more in the spirit of that equal and substantial justice, which is the end of all law, than if they had violently adhered to the strict maxims of law?" *Vide Serious Considerations, p. 33 and 34.* "And if the present House of

* Sir W. Blackstone.

Commons had chosen to follow the spirit of this resolution, they would have received and established the candidate with the fewest votes." *Vide Answer to Sir W. M. p. 18.*

Permit me now, Sir, to shew you that the worthy Dr. Blackstone sometimes contradicts the ministry as well as himself. The Speech without doors asserts*, page 9, "That the legal effect of an incapacity, founded on a judicial determination of a competent court, is precisely the same as that of an incapacity created by act of parliament." Now for the Doctor.—*The law and the opinion of the judge are not always convertible terms, or one and the same thing; since it sometimes may happen that the judge may mistake the law.* Commentaries, Vol. I. p. 71.

The answer to Sir W. M. asserts, page 23, "That the returning officer is not a judicial, but a purely ministerial officer. His return is no judicial act."—At 'em again, Doctor. *The Sheriff, in his judicial capacity is to hear and determine causes of 40 shillings value and under in his county court. He has also a judicial power in divers other civil cases. He is likewise to decide the elections of knights of the shire (subject to the control of the House of Commons), to judge of the qualification of voters, and to return such as he shall DETERMINE to be duly elected.* Vide Commentaries, page 332. Vol. I.

What conclusion shall we draw from such facts, such arguments, and such contradictions? I cannot express my opinion of the present ministry more exactly than in the words of Sir Richard Steele, "that we are governed by a set of drivellers, whose folly takes away all dignity from distress, and makes even calamity ridiculous†."

PHILO JUNIUS.

* See an extract from this speech, inserted in the note to Letter xvii p. 115. EDIT.

† In a pamphlet written by Steele upon the issue of the South-Sea incorporation, at the period when Walpole was just re-emerging from obscurity, to take a more decided and loftier management of public affairs —EDIT.

LETTER XXIII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

MY LORD,

19 Sept. 1769.

You are so little accustomed to receive any marks of respect or esteem from the public*, that if, in the following lines a compliment or expression of applause should escape

* The unpopular peace of 1763 was negotiated by the Duke of Bedford, and gave rise to a variety of public commotions which at length broke out into acts of open insurrection among the Spital-fields weavers, who exclaimed that their trade was ruined by its commercial stipulations. The rumour became current that the French court had purchased this peace by bribes to the Princess Dowager of Wales, Lord Bute, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland: and such was its general belief that the House of Commons thought proper to appoint a committee to examine into its truth; who traced it chiefly to a Dr. Musgrave, who nevertheless does not appear to have suffered from this libellous report, which, as he affirmed, he had brought home with him from Paris. The public disfavour with which the terms of the peace were received, produced a fresh disagreement between Lord Bute and the Duke of Bedford on his return home. Upon the death of Lord Egremont however, Lord Bute found himself compelled once more to apply to the Duke of Bedford for his interest, who, conscious of his importance, exacted not only from Lord Bute but from the king himself a submission to whatever terms he chose to impose, and it was upon this occasion that he insisted upon the dismissal of Lord Bute's brother, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, from his office, although Mackenzie had received his majesty's solemn promise that he should preserve it for life.

Incapable of submitting to such severe treatment, his Majesty soon afterwards intreated the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Rockingham to rescue him from the Bedford party. They consented, and the Duke was again dismissed with contumely. When his Majesty became disgusted, as he soon did, with this ministry also, Lord Bute applied in the king's name to George Grenville for support, and the Duke of Bedford, who was on terms of the closest friendship with him, once more strove to enter into the cabinet; but on this occasion Lord Bute had spirit enough to treat his offer with the utmost contempt. Lord Chatham was next applied to, who consented to take the lead, provided he was allowed the nomination of his own friends into certain offices he should designate; and this being granted, to strengthen his own hands, he re-introduced the Duke of Bedford, along with his Grace of Grafton:—and on his own resignation, he left them both in the respective offices they filled at the time of the address of the present letter to the former of these noblemen. EDIT.

me, I fear you would consider it as a mockery of your established character, and perhaps an insult to your understanding. You have nice feelings, my Lord, if we may judge from your resentments. Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have so little deserved it, I shall leave the illustration of your virtues to other hands. Your friends have a privilege to play upon the easiness of your temper, or possibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by stealth. The rest is upon record. You have still left ample room for speculation, when panegyric is exhausted.

You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank;—a splendid fortune; and a name, glorious till it was yours, were sufficient to have supported you with meaner abilities than I think you possess. From the first you derived a constitutional claim to respect; from the second, a natural extensive authority;—the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages might have been more honourable to yourself, but could not be more instructive to mankind. We may trace it in the veneration of your country, the choice of your friends, and in the accomplishment of every sanguine hope, which the public might have conceived from the illustrious name of Russell.

The eminence of your station gave you a commanding prospect of your duty. The road, which led to honour, was open to your view. You could not lose it by mistake, and you had no temptation to depart from it by design. Compare the natural dignity and importance of the richest peer of England;—the noble independence, which he might have maintained in parliament, and the real interest and respect, which he might have acquired, not only in parliament, but through the whole kingdom; compare these glorious distinctions with the ambition of holding a share in government, the emoluments of a place, the sale of a borough, or the purchase of a corporation*; and though you may not regret the virtues, which create respect, you may see with anguish, how much

* See note to p. 148. EDIT.

real importance and authority you have lost. Consider the character of an independent virtuous Duke of Bedford; imagine what he might be in this country, then reflect one moment upon what you are. If it be possible for me to withdraw my attention from the fact, I will tell you in theory what such a man might be.

Conscious of his own weight and importance, his conduct in parliament would be directed by nothing but the constitutional duty of a peer. He would consider himself as a guardian of the laws. Willing to support the just measures of government, but determined to observe the conduct of the minister with suspicion, he would oppose the violence of faction with as much firmness, as the encroachments of prerogative. He would be as little capable of bargaining with the minister for places for himself, or his dependents, as of descending to mix himself in the intrigues of opposition. Whenever an important question called for his opinion in parliament, he would be heard, by the most profligate minister, with deference and respect. His authority would either sanctify or disgrace the measures of government.—The people would look up to him as to their protector, and a virtuous prince would have one honest man in his dominions, in whose integrity and judgment he might safely confide. If it should be the will of Providence to afflict him with a domestic misfortune*, he would submit to the stroke, with feeling, but not without dignity. He would consider the people as his children, and receive a generous heart-felt consolation, in the sympathizing tears, and blessings of his country.

Your Grace may probably discover something more intelligible in the negative part of this illustrious character. The man I have described would never prostitute his dignity in parliament by an indecent violence either in opposing or defending a minister. He would not at one moment rancorously persecute, at another basely cringe to the favourite of his Sovereign. After outraging the royal dignity with peremptory conditions, little short of menace and hostility, he would never descend to the humility of soliciting an inter-

* The Duke lately lost his only son, by a fall from his horse.

view* with the favourite, and of offering to recover, at any price, the honour of his friendship. Though deceived perhaps in his youth, he would not, through the course of a long life, have invariably chosen his friends from among the most profligate of mankind. His own honour would have forbidden him from mixing his private pleasures or conversation with jockeys, gamesters, blasphemers, gladiators, or buffoons. He would then have never felt, much less would he have submitted to the humiliating, dishonest necessity of engaging in the interest and intrigues of his dependents, of supplying their vices, or relieving their beggary, at the expence of his country. He would not have betrayed such ignorance, or such contempt of the constitution, as openly to avow, in a court of justice, the † purchase and sale of a borough. He would not have thought it consistent with his rank in the state, or even with his personal importance, to be the little tyrant of a little corporation‡. He would never have been

* At this interview, which passed at the house of the late Lord Eglington, Lord Bute told the Duke that he was determined never to have any connection with a man, who had so basely betrayed him.

† In an answer in Chancery, in a suit against him to recover a large sum paid him by a person, whom he had undertaken to return to parliament, for one of his Grace's boroughs. He was compelled to repay the money.

‡ Of Bedford, where the tyrant was held in such contempt and detestation, that, in order to deliver themselves from him, they admitted a great number of strangers to the freedom. To make his defeat truly ridiculous, he tried his whole strength against Mr. *Horne*, and was beaten upon his own ground. AUTHOR.

This contest took place September 4th, 1769, on the election of mayor, bailiffs, and chamberlains for the borough of Bedford. His Grace having in vain objected to the making of any new freemen, at length prevailed on the corporation to allow some of his own particular friends to be put in nomination, when about twenty of them were made accordingly. The names of the freemen proposed to be elected on the popular side of the question, were then read, and were heard with profound silence by his Grace, 'till the name of *John Horne* was pronounced, when the Duke expressed himself with great bitterness towards that gentleman in particular; the corporation however divided upon the point, and Mr. *Horne* was elected, there being seventeen votes in his favour and eleven against him. The candidates for the office of mayor were on the popular side Mr. *Cawne*, and on the part of the Duke of Bedford, Mr. *Richards*, the former of whom was elected by 458 votes against 26. The triumph over his Grace was of course complete. EDIT.

insulted with virtues, which he had laboured to extinguish, nor suffered the disgrace of a mortifying defeat, which has made him ridiculous and contemptible, even to the few by whom he was not detested.—I reverence the afflictions of a good man,—his sorrows are sacred. But how can we take part in the distresses of a man, whom we can neither love nor esteem; or feel for a calamity of which he himself is insensible? Where was the father's heart, when he could look for, or find an immediate consolation for the loss of an only son, in consultations and bargains for a place at court, and even in the misery of balloting at the India House!

Admitting then that you have mistaken or deserted those honourable principles, which ought to have directed your conduct; admitting that you have as little claim to private affection as to public esteem, let us see with what abilities, with what degree of judgment you have carried your own system into execution. A great man, in the success and even in the magnitude of his crimes, finds a rescue from contempt. Your Grace is every way unfortunate. Yet I will not look back to those ridiculous scenes, by which in your earlier days, you thought it an honour to be distinguished*; the recorded stripes, the public infamy, your own sufferings, or Mr. Rigby's fortitude. These events undoubtedly left an impression, though not upon your mind. To such a mind, it may perhaps be a pleasure to reflect, that there is hardly a corner of any of his Majesty's kingdoms, except France, in which, at one time or other, your valuable life has not been in danger. Amiable man! we see and acknowledge the protection of Providence, by which you have so often escaped the personal detestation of your fellow-subjects, and are still reserved for the public justice of your country.

* Mr. Heston Homphrey, a country Attorney, horsewhipped the Duke, with equal justice, severity, and perseverance, on the course at Litchfield. *Rigby* and *Lord Trentham* were also cudgelled in a most exemplary manner. This gave rise to the following story: "When the late King heard that Sir Edward Hawke had given the French a *drubbing*, his Majesty, who had never received that kind of chastisement, was pleased to ask Lord Chesterfield the meaning of the word—Sir, says Lord Chesterfield, the meaning of the word—but here comes the Duke of Bedford, who is better able to explain it to your Majesty than I am."

Your history begins to be important at that auspicious period, at which you were deputed to represent the Earl of Bute, at the court of Versailles. It was an honourable office, and executed with the same spirit, with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador, who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honourable condition for his Sovereign*. Their busi-

* Soon after the death of the Duke of Bedford the following paragraph was inserted in the Public Advertiser, and as it remained uncontradicted, there is some reason to believe it authentic. As the Duke in this letter is arraigned in the most severe terms for the concessions made in negotiating the peace of 1763, it is but justice to his Grace, that a circumstance so honourable should be more generally known. The paragraph runs thus:

“The following anecdote of the late Duke of Bedford may be depended upon as fact:—When his Grace negotiated the late peace at Paris, he signed the preliminaries with the French minister Choiseul, and stipulated no farther for the possessions of the East India Company than he was advised to stipulate by the court of directors. A gentleman (a Dutch Jew of great abilities and character) hearing this, wrote a letter to the Duke of Bedford, informing him that the English East India Company had materially neglected their own interest, as their chief conquests were made subsequent to the period at which they had fixed their claim of sovereignty; and if these latter conquests were to be restored, an immense annual revenue would necessarily be taken from England. The Duke, struck with the force of the fact, yet embarrassed how to act, as preliminaries were really signed, repaired to Choiseul at Versailles, and addressed him thus:—‘My Lord, I have committed a great mistake in signing the preliminaries, as the affair of the India possessions must be carried down to our last conquest in Asia.’ To this Choiseul replied, ‘Your Grace astonishes me; I thought I had been treating with the minister of a great nation, and not with a student in politics, who does not consider the validity of written engagements.’ ‘Your reproach, my Lord, is just,’ returned the Duke, ‘but I will not add treachery to negligence, nor betray my country deliberately, because I have overlooked her interest unaccountably in a single circumstance; therefore, unless your Lordship agrees to cede the latter conquests in India, I shall return home in twelve hours, and submit the fate of my head to the discretion of an English parliament.’ Choiseul, staggered at the Duke’s intrepidity, complied; and this country now enjoys above half a million annually through the firmness of a man, whom it is even patriotism at present to calumniate, but whose virtues have never yet received justice from the community. On the termination of the affair to his satisfaction, he gave his informant, the Dutch gentleman, the warmest recommendations to England, who accordingly came over, and receives at this moment a pension of 500*l.* a year from the India Company as a reward for his services.” EDIT.

ness required a man, who had as little feeling for his own dignity as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the first rank of the nobility. Belleisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havanna, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negotiation*. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made, without some private compensations. Your conduct carries with it an internal evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice. Even the callous pride of Lord Egremont was alarmed†. He saw and felt his own dishonour in corresponding with you; and there certainly was a moment, at which he meant to have resisted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his faculties, and carried all sense and memory away with it.

I will not pretend to specify the secret terms on which you were invited to support an ‡ administration which Lord Bute pretended to leave in full possession of their ministerial authority, and perfectly masters of themselves. He was not of a temper to relinquish power, though he retired from employment. Stipulations were certainly made between your Grace and him, and certainly violated. After two years submission, you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to controul his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave. When you found yourself mistaken in your opinion of your gracious Master's firmness, disappointment got the better of all your humble discretion, and carried you to an excess of outrage to his person, as distant from true spirit, as from all decency and

* The peace of 1763 was negotiated by his Grace of Bedford; the conquests here specified were relinquished by its conditions: and the rumour, as already observed, was in general circulation that the Duke and his friends had been bribed into so prodigal a surrender. See the note in p. 145 of the present volume. EDIT.

† This man, notwithstanding his pride and Tory principles, had some English stuff in him. Upon an official letter he wrote to the Duke of Bedford, the Duke desired to be recalled, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Lord Bute could appease him.

‡ Mr. Grenville, Lord Halifax, and Lord Egremont

respect*. After robbing him of the rights of a King, you would not permit him to preserve the honour of a gentleman. It was then Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and dispatched (we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the treasury of the first fruits of an employment which you well knew he was never to execute†.

This sudden declaration of war against the favourite might have given you a momentary merit with the public, if it had either been adopted upon principle, or maintained with resolution. Without looking back to all your former servility, we need only observe your subsequent conduct, to see upon what motives you acted. Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble administration should dissolve in its own weakness.—The moment their dismissal was suspected, the moment you perceived that another system was adopted in the closet, you thought it no disgrace to return to your former dependence, and solicit once more the friendship of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which he had spirit enough to treat you with contempt.

It would now be of little use to point out, by what a train of weak, injudicious measures, it became necessary, or was thought so, to call you back to a share in the administration‡. The friends, whom you did not in the last instance desert, were not of a character to add strength or credit to government; and at that time your alliance with the Duke of Grafton was, I presume, hardly foreseen. We must look for other stipulations, to account for that sudden resolution of the closet, by which three of your dependants§ (whose cha-

* The ministry having endeavoured to exclude the Dowager out of the regency bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the King, reproached him in plain terms, with his duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy,—repeatedly gave him the lie, and left him in convulsions.

† He received three thousand pounds for plate and equipage money.

‡ When Earl Gower was appointed president of the council, the King, with his usual sincerity, assured him, that he had not had one happy moment, since the Duke of Bedford left him.

§ Lords Gower, Weymouth, and Sandwich.

acters, I think, cannot be less respected than they are) were advanced to offices, through which you might again controul the minister, and probably engross the whole direction of affairs.

The possession of absolute power is now once more within your reach. The measures you have taken to obtain and confirm it, are too gross to escape the eyes of a discerning judicious prince. His palace is besieged; the lines of circumvallation are drawing round him; and unless he finds a resource in his own activity, or in the attachment of the real friends of his family, the best of princes must submit to the confinement of a state prisoner, until your Grace's death, or some less fortunate event shall raise the siege. For the present, you may safely resume that stile of insult and menace, which even a private gentleman cannot submit to hear without being contemptible. Mr. Mackenzie's history is not yet forgotten, and you may find precedents enough of the mode, in which an imperious subject may signify his pleasure to his Sovereign. Where will this gracious monarch look for assistance, when the wretched Grafton could forget his obligations to his master, and desert him for a hollow alliance with *such* a man as the Duke of Bedford!

Let us consider you, then, as arrived at the summit of worldly greatness; let us suppose, that all your plans of avarice and ambition are accomplished, and your most sanguine wishes gratified in the fear, as well as the hatred of the people: Can age itself forget that you are now in the last act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? and is there no period to be reserved for meditation and retirement? For shame! my Lord: let it not be recorded of you, that the latest moments of your life were dedicated to the same unworthy pursuits, the same busy agitations, in which your youth and manhood were exhausted. Consider, that, although you cannot disgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and exposing the impotent imbecility, after you have lost the vigour of the passions.

Your friends will ask, perhaps, Whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where

his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he returns to Wooburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his destruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery, to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he must change his liveries and his name. Which ever way he flies, the *Hue and Cry* of the country pursues him.

In another kingdom indeed, the blessings of his administration have been more sensibly felt; his virtues better understood; or at worst, they will not, for him alone, forget their hospitality.—As well might VERRES have returned to Sicily. You have twice escaped, my Lord; beware of a third experiment. The indignation of a whole people, plundered, insulted, and oppressed as they have been, will not always be disappointed.

It is in vain therefore to shift the scene. You can no more fly from your enemies than from yourself. Persecuted abroad, you look into your own heart for consolation, and find nothing but reproaches and despair. But, my Lord, you may quit the field of business, though not the field of danger; and though you cannot be safe, you may cease to be ridiculous. I fear you have listened too long to the advice of those pernicious friends, with whose interests you have sordidly united your own, and for whom you have sacrificed every thing that ought to be dear to a man of honour. They are still base enough to encourage the follies of your age, as they once did the vices of your youth. As little acquainted with the rules of decorum, as with the laws of morality, they will not suffer you to profit by experience, nor even to consult the propriety of a bad character. Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic scene, in which the hero should preserve his consistency to the last, and that as you lived without virtue, you should die without repentance*.

JUNIUS.

* As some apprehension was entertained by the printer, that he might
be

LETTER XXIV.

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

14 September, 1769.

HAVING accidentally seen a *republication* of your letters, wherein you have been pleased to *assert*, that I had *sold* the companions of my success; I am again obliged to declare the said assertion to be a most *infamous* and *malicious falsehood*; and I *again* call upon you to stand forth, avow yourself, and *prove* the charge. If you can make it out to the satisfaction of any one man in the kingdom, I will be content to be thought the worst man in it; if you do not, what must the nation think of you? *Party* has nothing to do in this affair: you have made a personal attack upon my honour, defamed me by a most vile calumny, which might possibly have sunk into oblivion, had not such uncommon pains been taken to renew and perpetuate this scandal*, chiefly because it has been told in good language: for I give you full credit for your elegant diction, well turned periods, and attic wit; but wit is oftentimes false, though it may appear brilliant; which is exactly the case of your *whole performance*. But, Sir, I am obliged in the most *serious* manner to accuse you of being guilty of *falsities*. You have said the thing that is *not*. To support your story, you have recourse to the following *irresistible* argument: "You *sold* the companions of your victory, because when the 16th regiment was given to *you*, you was *silent*. The conclusion is inevitable." I believe that such *deep* and *acute reasoning* could only come from such an extraordinary writer as JUNIUS. But unfortunately for you,

be brought before the House of Lords, for inserting this letter in his paper, JUNIUS wrote to him in Private Letter, No. 10, as follows:—"As to *you* it is clearly my opinion that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him, in case he should think of bringing you before the House of Lords. I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm, as would make him tremble even in his grave." See also Vol. I. p. 165. EDIT.

* The reader will perceive, by a reference to the Private Letters, No. 4, that this republication was without the author's knowledge or consent.—
EDIT.

the *premises* as well as the *conclusion* are absolutely *false*. Many applications have been made to the ministry on the subject of the Manilla ransom *since* the time of my being colonel of that regiment. As I have for some years quitted London, I was obliged to have recourse to the honourable Colonel Monson and Sir Samuel Cornish*, to *negotiate* for me; in the last autumn, I personally delivered a memorial to the Earl of Shelburne at his seat in Wiltshire. As you have told us of your importance, that you are a person of *rank* and *fortune*, and above a *common* bribe†, you may in all probability be not *unknown* to his lordship, who can satisfy you of the truth of what I say. But I shall now take the liberty, Sir, to seize your *rbattery*, and turn it against yourself. If your puerile and tinsel logic could carry the least weight or conviction with it, how must you stand affected by the *inevitable conclusion*, as you are pleased to term it? According to JUNIUS, *silence is guilt*. In many of the public papers, you have been called in the most direct and offensive terms a *liar* and a *coward*. When did you reply to these foul accusations? You have been quite *silent*; quite chop-fallen: therefore, *because* you was *silent*, the nation has a right to pronounce you to be both a liar and a coward from your own argument: but, Sir, I will give you fairer play; will afford you an opportunity to wipe off the first appellation; by desiring the proofs of your charge against me. Produce them! To wipe off the last, produce *yourself*. People cannot bear any longer your *Lion's skin*, and the despicable *imposture* of the *old Roman name* which you have *affected*. For the future assume the name of some *modern*‡ bravo and dark assassin: let your appellation have some affinity to your practice. But if I must *perish*, JUNIUS, let me *perish* in the face of day; be for *once* a generous and open enemy. I allow that gothic *appeals* to cold iron are no better proofs of a man's honesty

* These gentlemen accompanied Sir William as brother officers in his expedition against the Philippines. EDIT.

† See Miscellaneous Letters of the Author, No. LIV. EDIT.

‡ Was *Brutus* an *ancient* bravo and dark assassin? or does Sir W. D. think it criminal to stab a tyrant to the heart?

and veracity than hot iron and burning ploughshares are of *female chastity*: but a soldier's honour is as delicate as a woman's; it must not be suspected; you have dared to throw more than a suspicion upon mine: you cannot but know the consequences, which even the meekness of Christianity would pardon me for, after the injury you have done me.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

LETTER XXV.

Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

SIR,

25 September, 1769.

AFTER so long an interval, I did not expect to see the debate revived between us. My answer to your last letter shall be short; for I write to you with reluctance, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence for ever.

Had you been originally and without provocation attacked by an anonymous writer, you would have some right to demand his name. But in this cause you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier. You were content to set your name in opposition to a man, who would probably continue in concealment. You understood the terms upon which we were to correspond, and gave at least a tacit assent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character of JUNIUS, what possible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me if I insinuate to you, that you foresaw some honour in the apparent spirit of coming forward in person, and that you were not quite indifferent to the display of your literary qualifications?

You cannot but know that the republication of my letters was no more than a catchpenny contrivance of a printer, in which it was impossible I should be concerned, and for which I am no way answerable. At the same time I wish you to understand, that if I do not take the trouble of reprinting

these papers, it is not from any fear of giving offence to Sir William Draper.

Your remarks upon a signature, adopted merely for distinction, are unworthy of notice; but when you tell me I have submitted to be called a liar and a coward, I must ask you in my turn, whether you seriously think it any way incumbent upon me to take notice of the silly invectives of every simpleton, who writes in a newspaper; and what opinion you would have conceived of my discretion, if I had suffered myself to be the dupe of so shallow an artifice?

Your appeal to the sword, though consistent enough with your late profession, will neither prove your innocence nor clear you from suspicion.—Your complaints with regard to the Manilla ransom were, for a considerable time, a distress to government. You were appointed (greatly out of your turn) to the command of a regiment, and *during that administration* we heard no more of Sir William Draper. The facts, of which I speak, may indeed be variously accounted for, but they are too notorious to be denied; and I think you might have learnt at the university, that a false conclusion is an error in argument, not a breach of veracity. Your solicitations, I doubt not, were renewed under *another* administration. Admitting the fact, I fear an indifferent person would only infer from it, that experience had made you acquainted with the benefits of complaining. Remember, Sir, that you have yourself confessed, that, *considering the critical situation of this country, the ministry are in the right to temporise with Spain*. This confession reduces you to an unfortunate dilemma. By renewing your solicitations, you must either mean to force your country into a war at a most unseasonable juncture; or, having no view or expectation of that kind, that you look for nothing but a private compensation to yourself.

As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country*, though I may be indifferent about

* See Private Letters, No. 41. in which he continues to entertain some apprehensions concerning the effects of a discovery of his person. EDIT.

yours. Though *you* would fight, there are others who would assassinate.

But after all, Sir, where is the injury? You assure me, that my logic is puerile and tinsel; that it carries not the least weight or conviction; that my premises are false and my conclusions absurd. If this be a just description of me, how is it possible for such a writer to disturb your peace of mind, or to injure a character so well established as yours? Take care, Sir William, how you indulge this unruly temper, lest the world should suspect that conscience has some share in your resentments. You have more to fear from the treachery of your own passions, than from any malevolence of mine.

I believe, Sir, you will never know me. A considerable time must certainly elapse before we are personally acquainted. You need not, however, regret the delay, or suffer an apprehension that any length of time can restore you to the Christian meekness of your temper, and disappoint your present indignation. If I understand your character, there is in your own breast a repository, in which your resentments may be safely laid up for future occasions, and preserved without the hazard of diminution. The *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret*, I thought had only belonged to the worst character of antiquity. The text is in Tacitus;—you know best where to look for the commentary.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXVI.

A WORD AT PARTING TO JUNIUS.

*SIR,

7 October, 1769.

As you have not favoured me with either of the *explanations* demanded of you, I can have nothing more to say to you upon my *own* account. Your mercy to me, or tenderness for yourself, has been very great. The public will judge

* *Measures and not men* is the common cant of affected moderation;—a base, counterfeit language, fabricated by knaves, and made current among fools. Such gentle censure is not fitted to the present, degenerate state of society. What does it avail to expose the absurd contrivance, or pernicious tendency?

of your *motives*. If your excess of modesty forbids you to produce either the proofs or yourself, I will excuse it. Take courage; I have not the temper of Tiberius, any more than the rank or power. You, indeed, are a tyrant of another sort, and upon your political bed of torture can excruciate any subject, from a first minister down to such a grub or butterfly as myself; like another detested tyrant of antiquity, can make the wretched sufferer fit the bed, if the bed will not fit the sufferer, by disjointing or tearing the trembling limbs until they are stretched to its extremity. But courage, constancy, and patience, under torments, have sometimes caused the most hardened monsters to relent, and forgive the object of their cruelty. You, Sir, are determined to try all that human nature can endure, until she expires: else, was it possible that you could be the author of that most inhuman letter to the Duke of Bedford? I have read it with astonishment and horror. Where, Sir, where were the feelings of your own heart, when you could upbraid a most affectionate father with the loss of his only and most amiable son? Read over again those cruel lines of yours, and let them wring your very soul! Cannot political questions be discussed without descending to the most odious personalities? Must you go wantonly out of your way to torment declining age, because the Duke of Bedford may have quarrelled with those whose cause and politics you espouse? For shame! for shame! As you have *spoke daggers* to him, you may justly dread the *use* of them against your own breast, did a want of courage, or of noble sentiments, stimulate him to such mean revenge. He is above

tendency of measures, if the man who advises or executes, shall be suffered not only to escape with impunity, but even to preserve his power, and insult us with the favour of his Sovereign! I would recommend to the reader the whole of Mr. Pope's letter to Doctor Arbuthnot, dated 26 July, 1734, from which the following is an extract. "To reform and not to chastise I am afraid is impossible; and that the best precepts, as well as the best laws, would prove of small use, if there were no examples to enforce them. To attack vices in the abstract, without touching persons, may be safe fighting indeed, but it is fighting with shadows. My greatest comfort and encouragement to proceed, has been to see that those who have no shame, and no fear of any thing else, have appeared touched by my satires."

it; he is brave. Do you fancy that your own base arts have infected our whole island? But your own reflections, your own conscience, must and will, if you have any spark of humanity remaining, give him most ample vengeance. Not all the power of words with which you are so graced, will ever wash out, or even palliate this foul blot in your character. I have not time at present to dissect your letter so minutely as I could wish, but I will be bold enough to say, that it is (as to reason and argument) the most extraordinary piece of *florid impotence* that was ever imposed upon the eyes and ears of the too credulous and deluded mob. It accuses the Duke of Bedford of high treason. Upon what foundation? You tell us, "that the Duke's *pecuniary character* makes it more than *probable*, that he could not have made such sacrifices at the peace, without *some private compensations*; that his conduct carried with it an interior evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice."

My academical education, Sir, bids me tell you that it is necessary to establish the truth of your first proposition, before you presume to draw inferences from it. First prove the avarice, before you make the rash, hasty, and most wicked conclusion. This father, JUNIUS, whom you call avaricious, allowed that son eight thousand pounds a year. Upon his most unfortunate death, which your usual good-nature took care to remind him of, he greatly encreased the jointure of the afflicted lady, his widow. Is this avarice? Is this doing good by *stealth*? It is upon record.

If exact order, method, and true œconomy as a master of a family; if splendor and just magnificence, without wild waste and thoughtless extravagance, may constitute the character of an avaricious man, the Duke is guilty. But for a moment let us admit that an ambassador may love money too much; what proof do you give that he has taken any to betray his country? Is it hearsay; or the evidence of letters, or ocular; or the evidence of those concerned in this black affair? Produce your authorities to the public. It is a most impudent kind of sorcery to attempt to blind us with the smoke, without convincing us that the fire has existed. You first brand

him with a vice that he is free from, to render him odious and suspected. Suspicion is the foul weapon with which you make all your chief attacks; with that you stab. But shall one of the first subjects of the realm be ruined in his fame; shall even his life be in constant danger, from a charge built upon such sandy foundations? Must his house be besieged by lawless ruffians, his journies impeded, and even the asylum of an altar be insecure, from assertions so base and false? Potent as he is, the Duke is amenable to justice; if guilty, punishable. The parliament is the high and solemn tribunal for matters of such great moment. To that be they submitted. But I hope also that some notice will be taken of, and some punishment inflicted upon, false accusers, especially upon such, JUNIUS, who are *wilfully false*. In any truth I will agree even with JUNIUS; will agree with him that it is highly unbecoming the dignity of Peers to tamper with boroughs. Aristocracy is as fatal as democracy. Our constitution admits of neither. It loves a King, Lords, and Commons really chosen by the unbought suffrages of a free people. But if corruption only shifts hands; if the wealthy commoner gives the bribe, instead of the potent Peer, is the state better served by this exchange? Is the real emancipation of the borough affected, because new parchment bonds may possibly supersede the old? To say the truth, wherever such practices prevail, they are equally criminal to and destructive of our freedom.

The rest of your declamation is scarce worth considering, excepting for the elegance of the language. Like Hamlet in the play, you produce two pictures: you tell us, that one is not like the Duke of Bedford; then you bring a most hideous caricatura, and tell us of the resemblance; but *multum abludit imago*.

All your long tedious accounts of the ministerial quarrels, and the intrigues of the cabinet, are reducible to a few short lines; and to convince you, sir, that I do not mean to flatter any minister, either past or present, these are my thoughts: they seem to have acted like lovers, or children; have pouted,

quarrelled, cried, kissed, and been friends again*; as the objects of desire, the ministerial rattles have been put into their hands. But such proceedings are very unworthy of the gravity and dignity of a great nation. We do not want men of abilities; but we have wanted steadiness; we want unanimity: your letters, JUNIUS, will not contribute thereto. You may one day expire by a flame of your own kindling. But it is my humble opinion that lenity and moderation, pardon and oblivion, will disappoint the efforts of all the seditious in the land, and extinguish their wide spreading fires. I have lived with this sentiment; with this I shall die.

WILLIAM DRAPER†.

LETTER XXVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

13 October, 1769.

IF Sir William Draper's bed be a bed of torture, he has made it for himself. I shall never interrupt his repose. Having changed the subject, there are parts of his last letter not undeserving of a reply. Leaving his private character and conduct out of the question, I shall consider him merely in the capacity of an author, whose labours certainly do no discredit to a newspaper.

We say, in common discourse, that a man may be his own enemy, and the frequency of the fact makes the expression

* Sir William gives us a pleasant account of men, who, in *his* opinion at least, are best qualified to govern an empire.

† A few days subsequent to the publication of this letter, a report was circulated, that Sir William Draper, in consequence of his defence of Lord Granby, had been appointed to a governorship in America, which Sir William contradicted, in the following short note, addressed to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, Oct. 20, 1769.

“Sir,

“You are desired to contradict the report that Sir William Draper is appointed a governor in America. The story has been raised to make the public believe that he has endeavoured to vindicate those whom he knows to have been most infamously traduced for the sake of a reward. His motive for this voyage is entirely curiosity. He has nothing to do with the politics of this ministry, or any other set of men whosoever.” EDIT.

intelligible. But that a man should be the bitterest enemy of his friends, implies a contradiction of a peculiar nature! There is something in it which cannot be conceived without a confusion of ideas, nor expressed without a solecism in language. Sir William Draper is still that fatal friend Lord Granby found him. Yet I am ready to do justice to his generosity; if indeed it be not something more than generous, to be the voluntary advocate of men, who think themselves injured by his assistance, and to consider nothing in the cause he adopts, but the difficulty of defending it. I thought however he had been better read in the history of the human heart, than to compare or confound the tortures of the body with those of the mind. If conscience plays the tyrant, it would be greatly for the benefit of the world that she were more arbitrary, and far less placable, than some men find her.

But it seems I have outraged the feelings of a father's heart.—Am I indeed so injudicious? Does Sir William Draper think I would have hazarded my credit with a generous nation, by so gross a violation of the laws of humanity? Does he think I am so little acquainted with the first and noblest characteristic of Englishmen? Or how will he reconcile such folly with an understanding so full of artifice as mine? Had *he* been a father, he would have been but little offended with the severity of the reproach, for his mind would have been filled with the justice of it. He would have seen that I did not insult the feelings of a father, but the father who felt nothing. He would have trusted to the evidence of his own paternal heart, and boldly denied the possibility of the fact, instead of defending it. Against whom then will his honest indignation be directed, when I assure him, that this whole town beheld the Duke of Bedford's conduct, upon the death of his son, with horror and astonishment. Sir William Draper does himself but little honour in opposing the general sense of his country. The people are seldom wrong in their opinions,—in their sentiments they are never mistaken. There may be a vanity perhaps in a singular way of thinking;—but when a man professes a want of those feelings, which do honour to the multitude, he hazards some-

thing infinitely more important than the character of his understanding. After all, as Sir William may possibly be in earnest in his anxiety for the Duke of Bedford, I should be glad to relieve him from it. He may rest assured this worthy nobleman laughs, with equal indifference, at *my* reproaches, and Sir William's distress about him. But here let it stop. Even the Duke of Bedford, insensible as he is, will consult the tranquillity of his life, in not provoking the moderation of my temper. If, from the profoundest contempt, I should ever rise into anger, he should soon find, that all I have already said of him was lenity and compassion*.

Out of a long catalogue, Sir William Draper has confined himself to the refutation of two charges only. The rest he had not time to discuss; and indeed it would have been a laborious undertaking. To draw up a defence of such a series of enormities, would have required a life at least as long as that, which has been uniformly employed in the practice of them. The public opinion of the Duke of Bedford's extreme æconomy is, it seems, entirely without foundation. Though not very prodigal abroad, in his own family at least, he is regular and magnificent. He pays his debts, abhors a beggar, and makes a handsome provision for his son. His charity has improved upon the proverb, and ended where it began. Admitting the whole force of this single instance of his domestic generosity (wonderful indeed, considering the narrowness of his fortune, and the little merit of his only son) the public may still perhaps be dissatisfied, and demand some other less equivocal proofs of his munificence. Sir William Draper should have entered boldly into the detail—of indigence relieved—of arts encouraged—of science patronized; men of learning protected, and works of genius rewarded; in short, had there been a single instance, besides Mr. Rigby†, of blushing merit brought forward by the Duke, for the service of the public, it should not have been omitted‡.

* See Private Letters, No. 10.

† This gentleman is supposed to have the same idea of *blushing*, that a man blind from his birth, has of a scarlet or sky-blue.

‡ In answer to this heavy charge, two instances of the noble Duke's benevolence

I wish it were possible to establish my inference with the same certainty, on which I believe the principle is founded. My conclusion however was not drawn from the principle

benevolence were brought forward in two separate letters in the Public Advertiser. The one dated Oct. 17, and signed Frances, which states his having relieved with a *patent employment*, the husband of the writer of a series of sentimental letters of "Henry and Frances," in which the author, a Mrs. Griffiths, fictitiously depicted their own real distress. The other dated Oct. 20, and signed Jere. Mears, Lieut. of the 29th Regt. relates the Duke's generous and unsolicited bestowment upon him of a pair of colours, upon a knowledge, when lord lieutenant of Ireland, of the writer's destitute situation.

A much abler reply to JUNIUS's severe attack upon his Grace was afterwards introduced into the Public Advertiser in a letter to JUNIUS subscribed M. Tullius, dated Dec. 8, from which the editor feels bound, on the score of impartiality, to make the following extract:

"In these strictures I have principally in view the treatment which JUNIUS, in two publications has thought proper to offer to the Duke of Bedford. His animadversions on this illustrious nobleman, are intended to reflect both on his public and private character. With regard to the first of these, nothing of consequence is urged besides his Grace's conduct as ambassador at the court of Versailles in the making of the late peace. I mean not to enter here into the merits or demerits of that important transaction.—Thus much is known to all, the riches of the nation were at that time well nigh exhausted, public credit was on the brink of ruin, the national debt increased to such an enormous height as to threaten us with a sudden and universal crush; and whatever be said of the concessions that were made to bring that memorable event to bear, Canada among other instances, will ever remain a glorious monument; the interests of this kingdom were not forgotten in that negotiation: But JUNIUS, hackneyed in the tricks of controversy, where a man's open and avowed actions are innocent, has the art to hint at secret terms and private compensations; and though he is compelled by the force of truth to own 'no document of any treasonable practice is to be found,' we are given plainly to understand so many public sacrifices were not made at that period without a valuable consideration, and that in practice there is very little difference in the ceremony of offering a bribe, and of that Duke's accepting it. To a charge that is alledged, not only without proof, but even with a confession that no proof is to be expected, no answer is to be returned but that of a contemptuous silence. When a writer takes upon him to attack the character of a nobleman of the highest rank, and in a matter of so capital a nature as that of selling his country for a bribe, common policy, as well as prudence, require that an accusation of such importance be supported with at least some show of evidence, and that even this be not done but with the utmost moderation of temper and expression: but so sober a conduct would have been beside the purpose of JUNIUS, whose business it was not to reason,
but

alone. I am not so unjust as to reason from one crime to another; though I think, that, of all the vices, avarice is most apt to taint and corrupt the heart. I combined the known

but rail. The Roman rhetorician, among the other arts of oratory, mentions one, which he dignifies with the title of a 'Canine eloquence,' that of filling up the empty places of an argument with railings, *convitiis implere vacua causarum*. In the knowledge of this rule JUNIUS is without a rival; and the present instance, among a thousand others, is a convincing testimony of his dexterity in the application of it.

"But here it will be said, it is not from circumstance and conjecture alone that this charge against the Duke of Bedford is founded; the general character of every one takes its colour and complexion from that quality in him which predominates, and the allowed avarice of the man affords an evidence not to be resisted of the rapacity of the ambassador: and is it then so incontestible a point that the Duke is indeed the sordid man which JUNIUS has delineated? are there no instances to be produced that denote a contrary disposition? one would think if a vicious thirst of gain had borne so large a share, as is pretended, in his Grace's composition, this would have discovered itself in the pecuniary emoluments he had secured for himself when he engaged in a share of Government. But what advantages of this kind has he obtained; or to what bargains with the minister does JUNIUS allude, when he knows, that his Grace, though willing to assist the friends of Administration with his interest and weight, has not accepted any department either of power or profit? had JUNIUS and *candour* not shaken hands, this circumstance alone would have afforded him an evidence beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice, of the iniquity of his own insinuations. But we are not at a loss for other instances, and those no ordinary ones, of the Duke's munificence. To what principle shall we attribute the payment of the elder Brother's debts to the amount of not much less than one hundred thousand pounds? the splendid provision he made for his unfortunate son; and afterwards for that son's more unfortunate Widow? what shall we say to his known attachments to the interests of his friends, his kindness to his domestics, and annual bounty to those who have served him faithfully? his indulgence to his dependants? or what are, if these be not, unequivocal proofs of genuine liberality and benevolence?

"When to these symptoms of an enlarged and generous mind, we add what are equally constituent parts of his Grace's character, the decency and decorum of his conduct in private life, his regularity in his family, and what is now so rare a virtue among the great, his constant attendance on all the public offices of Divine Worship, we shall hardly find in the whole circle of the nobility a man that has a juster and much more than a constitutional claim to respect, or one that less deserved the censures of a satirist, such as JUNIUS, than his Grace of Bedford. But in the reflections of JUNIUS there is a more surprising piece of profligacy yet behind. As if all the former instances of his malignity had been too little, he has filled up
the

temper of the man with the extravagant concessions made by the ambassador; and though I doubt not sufficient care was taken to leave no document of any treasonable negotia-

the measure of his crimes by calling back to our remembrance the loss, which, not the father alone, but the kingdom sustained in the death of his only son, and to reproach him for the insensibility he supposes him to have discovered, on that affecting occasion. The cruelty of this accusation is only to be paralleled by the falsehood of it, and in a better age than the present would have been deemed a prodigy. To one who possessed the proper sentiments of a man, the dwelling at all on a calamity which is still so recent, which in all its circumstances was so truly pitiable, would have appeared in the highest degree ungenerous and mean; but to represent the principal sufferer in this scene of woe as the only one not sensible of his misfortune; to paint a Father destitute of a Father's love, and even professing a want of those feelings which do honour to the multitude, is an instance of barbarity of which a savage would have been ashamed, and which no prettiness of stile, no powers of language, no literary merit, can ever excuse or expiate: and indeed, corrupt as the times are said to be, I have the satisfaction to observe JUNIUS for once has reckoned without his host, and mistaken the taste and temper of his countrymen: we can allow for the petulance which want and hunger extort from an opposition; we can pity the wretch who is obliged to draw his venal quill, and say and unsay as is dictated to him by his superiors: but we are not yet so far gone in the road to ruin, or dead to all the movements of compassion, as to behold without abhorrence the man, who can so totally resign all pretences to humanity, or regard him in any other light than as the object of general detestation.

“JUNIUS in his letter to the Duke of Bedford amuses himself with describing in Theory the dignity and importance of an independent nobleman: by way of conclusion to these remarks, I shall delineate for him in return, what I conceive should be the character of one who sets up for a political writer; and this in imitation of his own method, both by the positive and negative marks which may be given of it. A writer then of this class, though he will ever be suspicious of the conduct of those in power, will be sure to watch with equal jealousy over himself, lest in his zeal for exciting a reasonable love of liberty, he encourage a dangerous spirit of licentiousness: he will be as cautious of weakening the constitutional powers of the prince, as he will be careful of supporting the undoubted rights of the people; and will expose with the same freedom, in their turns, the exorbitances of prerogative, and the lawless efforts of a faction. In the negative parts of his character, he will not give occasion to the most distant suspicion that his opposition to Government proceeds not so much from a dislike to measures, as to Men: in times of real security he will not inflame the minds of the populace with affected apprehensions: before he complains of grievances he will be sure they exist: in his freest writings he will never violate knowingly the laws of truth and justice: he will not causelessly

tion, I still maintain that the conduct* of this minister carries with it an internal and convincing evidence against him. Sir William Draper seems not to know the value or force of such a proof. He will not permit us to judge of the motives of men, by the manifest tendency of their actions, nor by the notorious character of their minds. He calls for papers and witnesses, with a sort of triumphant security, as if nothing could be true, but what could be proved in a court of justice. Yet a religious man might have remembered, upon what foundation some truths, most interesting to mankind, have been received and established. If it were not for the internal evidence, which the purest of religions carries with it, what would have become of his once well-quoted decalogue, and of the meekness of his Christianity?

The generous warmth of his resentment makes him confound the order of events. He forgets that the insults and distresses which the Duke of Bedford has suffered, and which Sir William has lamented with many delicate touches of the true pathetic, were only recorded in my letter to his Grace, not occasioned by it. It was a simple, candid narrative of facts; though, for aught I know, it may carry with it something prophetic. His Grace undoubtedly has received several ominous hints; and I think, in certain circumstances, a wise man would do well to prepare himself for the event.

But I have a charge of a heavier nature against Sir William Draper. He tells us that the Duke of Bedford is amenable to justice;—that parliament is a high and solemn tribunal; and that, if guilty, he may be punished by due course of

causelessly expose the follies of youth, the infirmities of age, or the irregularities of private life, in which the public interests are not concerned: he will be restrained by a sense of honour from calumniating the innocent, or satirising the unhappy: in a word, he will not take the advantage of his own security to stab in the dark, or with Solomon's fool, divert himself with holding out the most respectable characters as objects of contempt and ridicule, and say am not I in sport?" EDIT.

* If Sir W. D. will take the trouble of looking into Torcy's Memoirs, he will see with what little ceremony a bribe may be offered to a Duke, and with what little ceremony it was *only not accepted*. AUTHOR.

It is too generally known to need further explanation that the first Duke of Marlborough is the nobleman here referred to. EDIT.

law; and all this, he says with as much gravity, as if he believed every word of the matter. I hope indeed, the day of impeachments will arrive, before this nobleman escapes out of life; but to refer us to that mode of proceeding now, with such a ministry, and such a house of commons as the present, what is it, but an indecent mockery of the common sense of the nation? I think he might have contented himself with defending the greatest enemy, without insulting the distresses of his country.

His concluding declaration of his opinion, with respect to the present condition of affairs, is too loose and undetermined to be of any service to the public. How strange it is that this gentleman should dedicate so much time and argument to the defence of worthless or indifferent characters, while he gives but seven solitary lines to the only subject, which can deserve his attention, or do credit to his abilities.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXVIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

20 October, 1769.

I VERY sincerely applaud the spirit with which a lady has paid the debt of gratitude to her benefactor*. Though I think she has mistaken the point, she shews a virtue which makes her respectable. The question turned upon the personal generosity or avarice of a man, whose private fortune is immense. The proofs of his munificence must be drawn from the uses to which he has applied that fortune. I was not speaking of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but of a rich English duke, whose wealth gave him the means of doing as much good in this country, as he derived from his power in another. I am far from wishing to lessen the merit of this single benevolent action;—perhaps it is the more conspicuous from standing alone. All I mean to say is, that it proves nothing in the present argument.

JUNIUS

* See note to p. 165. Mrs. Griffith's letter signed Frances

LETTER XXIX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

19 October, 1769.

I AM well assured that JUNIUS will never descend to a dispute with such a writer as *Modestus* (whose letter appeared in the *Gazetteer* of Monday*) especially as the dispute must be chiefly about words. Notwithstanding the partiality of the public, it does not appear that JUNIUS values himself upon any superior skill in composition, and I hope his time will always be more usefully employed than in the trifling refinements of verbal criticism. *Modestus*, however, shall have no reason to triumph in the silence and moderation of JUNIUS. If he knew as much of the propriety of language, as I believe he does of the facts in question, he would have been as cautious of attacking JUNIUS upon his composition, as he seems to be of entering into the subject of it; yet after all, the last is the only article of any importance to the public.

I do not wonder at the unremitted rancour with which the Duke of Bedford and his adherents invariably speak of a nation, which we well know has been too much injured to be easily forgiven. But why must JUNIUS be an Irishman?—*The absurdity of his writings betrays him.*—Waving all consideration of the insult offered by *Modestus* to the declared judgment of the people (they may well bear this among the rest) let us follow the several instances, and try whether the charge be fairly supported.

First then,—the leaving a man to enjoy such repose as he can find upon a bed of torture, is severe indeed; perhaps too much so, when applied to such a trifler as Sir William Draper; but there is nothing absurd either in the idea or expression. *Modestus* cannot distinguish between a sarcasm and a contradiction.

* The gentleman who wrote several letters under this signature in the *Gazetteer*, and subsequently in the *Public Advertiser*, was a Mr. Dalrymple, a Scotch Advocate. For a specimen of his stile, see *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. LXVII. EDIT

2. I affirm with JUNIUS, that it is the *frequency* of the fact, which alone can make us comprehend how a man can be his own enemy. We should never arrive at the complex idea conveyed by those words, if we had only seen one or two instances of a man acting to his own prejudice. Offer the proposition to a child, or a man unused to compound his ideas, and you will soon see how little either of them understand you. It is not a simple idea arising from a single fact, but a very complex idea arising from many facts well observed, and accurately compared.

3. Modestus could not, without great affectation, mistake the meaning of JUNIUS, when he speaks of a man who is the bitterest enemy of his friends. He could not but know, that JUNIUS spoke, not of a false or hollow friendship, but of a real intention to serve, and that intention producing the worst effects of enmity. Whether the description be strictly applicable to Sir William Draper is another question. JUNIUS does not say that it is more *criminal* for a man to be the enemy of his friends than his own, though he might have affirmed it with truth. In a moral light a man may certainly take greater liberties with himself than with another. To sacrifice ourselves merely is a weakness we may indulge in, if we think proper, for we do it at our own hazard and expence; but, under the pretence of friendship, to sport with the reputation, or sacrifice the honour of another, is something worse than weakness; and if, in favour of the foolish intention, we do not call it a crime, we must allow at least that it arises from an overweening, busy, meddling impudence.—JUNIUS says only, and he says truly, that it is more extraordinary, that it involves a greater contradiction than the other; and is it not a maxim received in life, that in general we can determine more wisely for others than for ourselves? The reason of it is so clear in argument, that it hardly wants the confirmation of experience. Sir William Draper, I confess, is an exception to the general rule, though not much to his credit.

4. If this gentleman will go back to his Ethics, he may perhaps discover the truth of what JUNIUS says, *that no out-*

ward tyranny can reach the mind. The tortures of the body may be introduced by way of ornament or illustration to represent those of the mind, but strictly there is no similitude between them. They are totally different both in their cause and operation. The wretch, who suffers upon the rack, is merely passive; but when the mind is tortured, it is not at the command of any outward power. It is the sense of guilt which constitutes the punishment, and creates that torture with which the guilty mind acts upon itself.

5. He misquotes what JUNIUS says of conscience, and makes the sentence ridiculous, by making it his own.

So much for composition. Now for fact.—JUNIUS it seems has mistaken the Duke of Bedford. His Grace had all the proper feelings of a father, though he took care to suppress the appearance of them. Yet it was an occasion, one would think, on which he need not have been ashamed of his grief;—on which less fortitude would have done him more honour. I can conceive indeed a benevolent motive for his endeavouring to assume an air of tranquillity in his own family, and I wish I could discover any thing, in the rest of his character, to justify my assigning that motive to his behaviour. But is there no medium? Was it necessary to appear abroad, to ballot at the India-house, and make a public display, though it were only of an 'apparent insensibility?—I know we are treading on tender ground, and JUNIUS, I am convinced, does not wish to urge this question farther. Let the friends of the Duke of Bedford observe that humble silence, which becomes their situation. They should recollect that there are still some facts in store, at which human nature would shudder. I shall be understood by those whom it concerns, when I say that these facts go farther than to the Duke*.

* Within a fortnight after Lord Tavistock's death, the venerable *Gertrude* had a rout at Bedford-house. The good Duke (who had only sixty thousand pounds a year) ordered an inventory to be taken of his son's wearing apparel, down to his slippers, sold them all, and put the money in his pocket. The amiable Marchioness shocked at such brutal, unfeeling avarice, gave the value of the clothes, to the Marquis's servant, out of her own purse. That incomparable woman did not long survive her husband. When she died, the Duchess of Bedford treated her as the Duke had treated

It is not inconsistent to suppose that a man may be quite indifferent about one part of a charge, yet severely stung with another, and though he feels no remorse, that he may wish to be revenged. The charge of insensibility carries a reproach indeed, but no danger with it.—JUNIUS has said, *there are others who would assassinate. Modestus*, knowing his man, will not suffer the insinuation to be divided, but fixes it all upon the Duke of Bedford.

Without determining upon what evidence JUNIUS would *choose to be condemned*, I will venture to maintain, in opposition to *Modestus*, or to Mr. Rigby (who is certainly not *Modestus*) or any other of the Bloomsbury gang, that the evidence against the Duke of Bedford is as strong as any presumptive evidence can be. It depends upon a combination of facts and reasoning, which require no confirmation from the anecdote of the Duke of Marlborough. This anecdote was referred to merely to shew how ready a great man may be to receive a great bribe; and if *Modestus* could read the original, he would see that the expression, *only not accepted*, was probably the only one in our language that exactly fitted the case. The bribe, offered to the Duke of Marlborough, was not refused.

I cannot conclude without taking notice of this honest gentleman's learning, and wishing he had given us a little more of it. When he accidentally found himself so near speaking truth, it was rather unfair of him to leave out the *non potuisse refelli*. As it stands, the *pudet hæc opprobria* may be divided equally between Mr. Rigby and the Duke of Bedford. Mr. Rigby, I take for granted, will assert his natural right to the modesty of the quotation, and leave all the opprobrium to his Grace.

PHILO JUNIUS.

treated his only son. She ordered every gown and trinket to be sold, and pocketed the money.—These are the monsters, whom Sir William Draper comes forward to defend.—May God protect *me* from doing any thing that may require such defence, or deserve such friendship. AUTHOR.

The Marquis of Tavistock, the Duke of Bedford's only son, who was killed as already related, by a fall from his horse, had married the sister of the late Earl of Albemarle. EDIT.

LETTER XXX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

17 October, 1769.

IT is not wonderful that the great cause, in which this country is engaged, should have roused and engrossed the whole attention of the people. I rather admire the generous spirit, with which they feel and assert their interest in this important question, than blame them for their indifference about any other. When the constitution is openly invaded, when the first original right of the people, from which all laws derive their authority, is directly attacked, inferior grievances naturally lose their force, and are suffered to pass by without punishment or observation. The present ministry are as singularly marked by their fortune, as by their crimes. Instead of atoning for their former conduct by any wise or popular measure, they have found, in the enormity of one fact, a cover and defence for a series of measures, which must have been fatal to any other administration. I fear we are too remiss in observing the whole of their proceedings. Struck with the principal figure, we do not sufficiently mark in what manner the canvass is filled up. Yet surely it is not a less crime, nor less fatal in its consequences, to encourage a flagrant breach of the law by a military force, than to make use of the forms of parliament to destroy the constitution.—The ministry seem determined to give us a choice of difficulties, and, if possible, to perplex us with the multitude of their offences. The expedient is well worthy of the Duke of Grafton. But though he has preserved a gradation and variety in his measures, we should remember that the principle is uniform. Dictated by the same spirit, they deserve the same attention. The following fact, though of the most alarming nature, has not yet been clearly stated to the public, nor have the consequences of it been sufficiently understood. Had I taken it up at an earlier period, I should have been accused of an uncandid, malignant precipitation, as if I watched for an unfair advantage against the ministry.

and would not allow them a reasonable time to do their duty. They now stand without excuse. Instead of employing the leisure they have had, in a strict examination of the offence, and punishing the offenders, they seem to have considered *that* indulgence as a security to them, that, with a little time and management, the whole affair might be buried in silence, and utterly forgotten.

* A major general of the army is arrested by the sheriff's officers for a considerable debt†. He persuades them to conduct him to the Tilt-yard in St. James's Park, under some pretence of business, which it imported him to settle before he was confined. He applies to a serjeant, not immediately on duty, to assist with some of his companions in favouring

* Major General Gansel.

† Major General Gansel was arrested September 21, 1769, in Piccadilly, for two thousand pounds. He told the bailiff, if he would go down with him to the Tilt-yard, he should there find a friend, and would, on his not giving bail, go with him to a spunging-house. When they came to the Horse-guards, the officer sent for a serjeant and file of musqueteers to secure the bailiff, on a pretence that he had been insulted by him, which they did, while the prisoner escaped. Adjutant-general Harvey having heard of the affair, ordered the serjeant and his men close prisoners to the Savoy, and sent captain Cox to notify to the Sheriffs the steps he had taken in consequence of the proceedings of general Gansel, who had, in the mean while, surrendered himself into custody. In consequence of the above circumstance, on the 21st of April following, was issued to the brigade of guards, the Order as under:

“ Parole Hounslow,

“ B. O. His Majesty has signified to the Field Officer in waiting, that he has been acquainted that serjeant Bacon of the first regiment, and serjeant Parke of the Coldstream regiment, William Powell, William Hart, James Porter, and Joseph Collins, private soldiers in the first regiment of foot-guards, were more or less concerned in the rescue of major general Gansel, in September last; the King hopes, and is willing to believe, they did not know the Major General was arrested, and only thought they were delivering an officer in distress: however his Majesty commands, that they should be severely reprimanded for acting in this business as they have done; and strictly orders for the future, that no commissioned officer or soldier do presume to interfere with bailiffs, or arrests, on any account or pretence whatsoever, the crime being of a very atrocious nature; and if any are found guilty of disobeying this order, they will be most severely punished. This order to be read immediately at the head of every company in the brigade of guards, that no man may plead ignorance for the future.” EDIT.

his escape. He attempts it. A bustle ensues. The bailiffs claim their prisoner. *An officer of the guards, not then on duty, takes part in the affair, applies to the † lieutenant commanding the Tilt-yard guard, and urges him to turn out his guard to relieve a general officer. The lieutenant declines interfering in person, but stands at a distance, and suffers the business to be done. The other officer takes upon himself to order out the guard. In a moment they are in arms, quit their guard, march, rescue the general, and drive away the sheriff's officers, who, in vain represent their right to the prisoner, and the nature of the arrest. The soldiers first conduct the general into their guard room, then escort him to a place of safety, with bayonets fixed, and in all the forms of military triumph. I will not enlarge upon the various circumstances which attended this atrocious proceeding. The personal injury received by the officers of the law in the execution of their duty, may perhaps be atoned for by some private compensation. I consider nothing but the wound, which has been given to the law itself, to which no remedy has been applied, no satisfaction made. Neither is it my design to dwell upon the misconduct of the parties concerned, any farther than is necessary to shew the behaviour of the ministry in its true light. I would make every compassionate allowance for the infatuation of the prisoner, the false and criminal discretion of one officer, and the madness of another. I would leave the ignorant soldiers entirely out of the question. They are certainly the least guilty, though they are the only persons who have yet suffered, even in the appearance of punishment‡. The fact itself, however atrocious, is not the principal point to be considered. It might have happened under a more regular government, and with guards better disciplined than ours. The main question is, in what manner have the ministry acted on this extraordinary occasion. A general officer calls upon the king's own guard, then actually on duty, to rescue him from the laws of

* Lieutenant Dodd.

† Lieutenant Garth.

‡ A few of them were confined, and the rest, as already observed, reprimanded. EDIT.

his country; yet at this moment he is in a situation no worse, than if he had not committed an offence, equally enormous in a civil and military view.—A lieutenant upon duty designedly quits his guard, and suffers it to be drawn out by another officer, for a purpose, which he well knew, (as we may collect from an appearance of caution, which only makes his behaviour the more criminal) to be in the highest degree illegal. Has this gentleman been called to a court martial to answer for his conduct? No. Has it been censured? No. Has it been in any shape inquired into? No.—Another lieutenant, not upon duty, nor even in his regimentals, is daring enough to order out the king's guard, over which he had properly no command, and engages them in a violation of the laws of his country, perhaps the most singular and extravagant that ever was attempted.—What punishment has *he* suffered? Literally none. Supposing he should be prosecuted at common law for the rescue, will that circumstance, from which the ministry can derive no merit, excuse or justify their suffering so flagrant a breach of military discipline to pass by unpunished, and unnoticed? Are they aware of the outrage offered to their sovereign, when his own proper guard is ordered out to stop by main force, the execution of his laws? What are we to conclude from so scandalous a neglect of their duty, but that they have other views, which can only be answered by securing the attachment of the guards? The minister would hardly be so cautious of offending them, if he did not mean, in due time, to call for their assistance.

With respect to the parties themselves, let it be observed, that these gentlemen are neither young officers, nor very young men. Had they belonged to the unfledged race of ensigns, who infest our streets, and dishonour our public places, it might perhaps be sufficient to send them back to that discipline, from which their parents, judging lightly from the maturity of their vices, had removed them too soon. In this case, I am sorry to see, not so much the folly of youth, as the spirit of the corps, and the connivance of government. I do not question that there are many brave and worthy offi-

cers in the regiments of guards. But considering them as a corps, I fear it will be found that they are neither good soldiers, nor good subjects. Far be it from me to insinuate the most distant reflection upon the army. On the contrary, I honour and esteem the profession; and if these gentlemen were better soldiers, I am sure they would be better subjects. It is not that there is any internal vice or defect in the profession itself, as regulated in this country, but that it is the spirit of this particular corps to despise their profession, and that while they vainly assume the lead of the army, they make it matter of impertinent comparison and triumph over the bravest troops in the world (I mean our marching regiments) that *they* indeed stand upon higher ground, and are privileged to neglect the laborious forms of military discipline and duty. Without dwelling longer upon a most invidious subject, I shall leave it to military men, who have seen a service more active than the parade, to determine, whether or no I speak truth.

How far this dangerous spirit has been encouraged by government, and to what pernicious purposes it may be applied hereafter, well deserves our most serious consideration. I know indeed, that when this affair happened, an affectation of alarm ran through the ministry. Something must be done to save appearances. The case was too flagrant to be passed by absolutely without notice. But how have they acted? Instead of ordering the officers concerned, (and who, strictly speaking, are alone guilty,) to be put under arrest, and brought to trial, they would have it understood, that they did their duty completely, in confining a serjeant and four private soldiers, until they should be demanded by the civil power; so that while the officers, who ordered or permitted the thing to be done, escape without censure, the poor men who obeyed those orders, who in a military view are no way responsible for what they did, and who for that reason have been discharged by the civil magistrates, are the only objects whom the ministry have thought proper to expose to punishment. They did not venture to bring even these men to a court martial, because they knew their evidence would be

fatal to some persons, whom *they* were determined to protect. Otherwise, I doubt not, the lives of these unhappy, friendless, soldiers, would long since have been sacrificed, without scruple, to the security of their guilty officers.

I have been accused of endeavouring to inflame the passions of the people.—Let me now appeal to their understanding. If there be any tool of administration daring enough to deny these facts, or shameless enough to defend the conduct of the ministry, let him come forward. I care not under what title he appears. He shall find me ready to maintain the truth of my narrative, and the justice of my observations upon it, at the hazard of my utmost credit with the public.

Under the most arbitrary governments, the common administration of justice is suffered to take its course. The subject, though robbed of his share in the legislature, is still protected by the laws. The political freedom of the English constitution was once the pride and honour of an Englishman. The civil equality of the laws preserved the property, and defended the safety of the subject. Are these glorious privileges the birthright of the people, or are we only tenants at the will of the ministry?—But that I know there is a spirit of resistance in the hearts of my countrymen, that they value life, not by its conveniencies, but by the independence and dignity of their condition, I should, at this moment, appeal only to their discretion. I should persuade them to banish from their minds all memory of what we were; I should tell them this is not a time to remember that we were Englishmen; and give it as my last advice, to make some early agreement with the minister, that since it has pleased him to rob us of those political rights, which once distinguished the inhabitants of a country, where honour was happiness, he would leave us at least the humble, obedient security of citizens, and graciously condescend to protect us in our submission.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXXI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

14 November, 1769.

THE variety of remarks, which have been made upon the last letter of JUNIUS, and my own opinion of the Writer, who, whatever may be his faults, is certainly not a weak man, have induced me to examine, with some attention, the subject of that letter. I could not persuade myself that, while he had plenty of important materials, he would have taken up a light or trifling occasion to attack the Ministry; much less could I conceive that it was his intention to ruin the officers concerned in the rescue of general Gansel, or to injure the general himself. These are little objects, and can no way contribute to the great purposes he seems to have in view, by addressing himself to the public.—Without considering the ornamented stile he has adopted, I determined to look farther into the matter, before I decided upon the merits of his letter. The first step I took was to inquire into the truth of the facts; for if these were either false or misrepresented, the most artful exertion of his understanding, in reasoning upon them, would only be a disgrace to him.—Now, Sir, I have found every circumstance stated by JUNIUS to be literally true. General Gansel persuaded the bailiffs to conduct him to the parade, and certainly solicited a corporal and other soldiers to assist him in making his escape. Captain Dodd did certainly apply to captain Garth for the assistance of his guard. Captain Garth declined appearing himself, but stood aloof, while the other took upon him to order out the King's guard, and by main force rescued the general. It is also strictly true, that the general was escorted by a file of musqueteers to a place of security.—These are facts, Mr. Woodfall, which I promise you no gentleman in the guards will deny. If all or any of them are false, why are they not contradicted by the parties themselves? However secure against military censure, they have yet a character to lose, and sure-

ly, if they are innocent, it is not beneath them to pay some attention to the opinion of the public.

The force of JUNIUS's observations upon these facts cannot be better marked, than by stating and refuting the objections which have been made to them. One writer says, "Admitting the officers have offended, they are punishable at common law, and will you have a British subject punished twice for the same offence?"—I answer that they have committed two offences, both very enormous, and violated two laws. The rescue is one offence, the flagrant breach of discipline another, and hitherto it does not appear that they have been punished, or even censured for either. Another gentleman lays much stress upon the calamity of the case, and, instead of disproving facts, appeals at once to the compassion of the public. This idea, as well as the insinuation *that depriving the parties of their commissions would be an injury to their creditors*, can only refer to general Gansel. The other officers are in no distress, therefore, have no claim to compassion, nor does it appear that their creditors, if they have any, are more likely to be satisfied by their continuing in the guards. But this sort of plea will not hold in any shape. Compassion to an offender, who has grossly violated the laws, is in effect a cruelty to the peaceable subject who has observed them; and, even admitting the force of any alleviating circumstances, it is nevertheless true, that, in this instance, the royal compassion has interposed too soon. The legal and proper mercy of a King of England may remit the punishment, but ought not to stop the trial.

Besides these particular objections, there has been a cry raised against JUNIUS for his malice and injustice in attacking the ministry upon an event, which they could neither hinder nor foresee. This, I must affirm, is a false representation of his argument. He lays no stress upon the event itself, as a ground of accusation against the ministry, but dwells entirely upon their subsequent conduct. He does not say that they are answerable for the offence, but for the scandalous neglect of their duty, in suffering an offence, so flagrant, to pass by without notice or inquiry. Supposing them ever

so regardless of what they owe to the public, and as indifferent about the opinion as they are about the interests of their country, what answer, as officers of the crown, will they give to JUNIUS, when he asks them, *Are they aware of the outrage offered to their Sovereign, when his own proper guard is ordered out to stop, by main force, the execution of his laws?*

—And when we see a ministry giving such a strange unaccountable protection to the officers of the guards, is it unfair to suspect, that they have some secret and unwarrantable motives for their conduct? If they feel themselves injured by such a suspicion, why do they not immediately clear themselves from it, by doing their duty? For the honour of the guards, I cannot help expressing another suspicion, that, if the commanding officer had not received a secret injunction to the contrary, he would, in the ordinary course of his business, have applied for a court martial to try the two subalterns; the one for quitting his guard;—the other for taking upon him the command of the guard, and employing it in the manner he did. I do not mean to enter into or defend the severity, with which JUNIUS treats the guards. On the contrary, I will suppose, for a moment, that they deserve a very different character. If this be true, in what light will they consider the conduct of the two subalterns, but as a general reproach and disgrace to the whole corps? And will they not wish to see them censured in a military way, if it were only for the credit and discipline of the regiment.

Upon the whole, Sir, the ministry seem to me to have taken a very improper advantage of the good-nature of the public, whose humanity, they found, considered nothing in this affair but the distress of general Gansel. They would persuade us that it was only a common rescue by a few disorderly soldiers, and not the formal deliberate act of the king's guard, headed by an officer, and the public has fallen into the deception. I think, therefore, we are obliged to JUNIUS for the care he has taken to inquire into the facts, and for the just commentary with which he has given them to the world.—For my own part, I am as unwilling as any man to load the unfortunate; but, really, Sir, the precedent, with

respect to the guards, is of a most important nature, and alarming enough (considering the consequences with which it may be attended) to deserve a parliamentary inquiry: when the guards are daring enough, not only to violate their own discipline, but publicly and with the most atrocious violence to stop the execution of the laws, and when such extraordinary offences pass with impunity, believe me, Sir, the precedent strikes deep.

PHILO JUNIUS*.

LETTER XXXII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

15 Nov. 1769.

I ADMIT the claim of a gentleman, who publishes in the *Gazetteer* under the name of *Modestus*†. He has some right to expect an answer from me: though, I think, not so much from the merit or importance of his objections, as from my own voluntary engagement. I had a reason for not taking notice of him sooner, which, as he is a candid person, I believe he will think sufficient. In my first letter, I took for granted, from the time which had elapsed, that there was no intention to censure, nor even to try the persons concerned in the rescue of general Gansel; but *Modestus* having since either affirmed, or strongly insinuated, that the offenders might still be brought to a legal trial, any attempt to pre-judge the cause, or to prejudice the minds of a jury, or a court-martial, would be highly improper.

A man, more hostile to the ministry than I am, would not

* This letter was originally printed in the *Public Advertiser*, with the signature of *Moderatus*. It shews that JUNIUS himself was peculiarly pleased with the composition, or he would not have raised it, in his own edition, to the rank of those letters which possess the signature of his chief auxiliary. EDIT.

† In the copy corrected by the author, and from which the original edition of these letters was printed, he gives directions to omit the letter under this signature in the following words:—"MODESTUS is too stupid, and must not be inserted." EDIT.

so often remind them of their duty. If the Duke of Grafton will not perform the duty of his station, why is he minister? —I will not descend to a scurrilous altercation with any man: but this is a subject too important to be passed over with silent indifference. If the gentlemen, whose conduct is in question, are not brought to a trial, the Duke of Grafton shall hear from me again*.

The motives on which I am supposed to have taken up this cause, are of little importance, compared with the facts themselves, and the observations I have made upon them. Without a vain profession of integrity, which, in these times, might justly be suspected, I shall shew myself in effect a friend to the interests of my countrymen, and leave it to them to determine, whether I am moved by a personal malevolence to three private gentlemen, or merely by a hope of perplexing the ministry, or whether I am animated by a just and honourable purpose of obtaining a satisfaction to the laws of this country, equal, if possible, to the violation they have suffered.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXXIII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

29 Nov. 1769.

THOUGH my opinion of your Grace's integrity was but little affected by the coyness with which you received † Mr.

* See this subject further pursued in Miscellaneous Letters, LXIV. to LXVIII. inclusive. EDIT.

† The fact is detailed by JUNIUS in a note to pages 190 and 215 of the present volume. Mr. Samuel Vaughan was a merchant in the city, of hitherto unblemished character, and strongly attached to the popular cause. The office he attempted to procure, had, at times, been previously disposed of for a pecuniary consideration, and had, on one particular occasion, been sold by an order of the Court of Chancery, and consisted in the reversion of the clerkship to the Supreme Court in the island of Jamaica. A Mr. Howell was, in fact, at this very time in treaty with the patentee for the purchase of his resignation, which clearly disproved any criminal intention in Mr. V. He was however prosecuted, obviously from

Vaughan's proposals, I confess I give you some credit for your discretion. You had a fair opportunity of displaying a certain delicacy, of which you had not been suspected; and you were in the right to make use of it. By laying in a moderate stock of reputation, you undoubtedly meant to provide for the future necessities of your character, that with an honourable resistance upon record, you might safely indulge your genius, and yield to a favourite inclination with security. But you have discovered your purposes too soon; and, instead of the modest reserve of virtue, have shewn us the termagant chastity of a prude, who gratifies her passions with distinction, and prosecutes one lover for a rape, while she solicits the lewd embraces of another.

Your cheek turns pale; for a guilty conscience tells you, you are undone.—Come forward, thou virtuous minister, and tell the world by what interest Mr. Hine has been recommended to so extraordinary a mark of his Majesty's favour; what was the price of the patent he has bought, and to what honourable purpose the purchase money has been applied. Nothing less than many thousands could pay Colonel Burgoyne's expences at Preston*. Do you dare to prosecute such a creature as Vaughan, while you are basely setting up the royal patronage to auction? Do you dare to complain of an attack upon your own honour, while you are selling the favours of the crown, to raise a fund for corrupting the morals of the people? And do you think it possible such enormities should escape without impeachment? It is indeed highly your interest to maintain the present House of Commons. Having sold the nation to you in gross, they will undoubtedly protect you in the detail; for while they patronize *your* crimes, they feel for their own.

JUNIUS.

political motives, but which was dropped, as subsequently stated by JUNIUS, after the affair of Hine's patent was brought before the public.
—EDIT.

* See the ensuing letter, as also Private Letters, No. 15, December 12. 1769. , EDIT.

LETTER XXXIV.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

12 Dec. 1769.

I FIND with some surprize, that you are not supported as you deserve. Your most determined advocates have scruples about them, which *you* are unacquainted with; and, though there be nothing too hazardous for your Grace to engage in, there are some things too infamous for the vilest prostitute of a newspaper to defend*. In what other manner shall we account for the profound, submissive silence, which you and your friends have observed upon a charge, which called immediately for the clearest refutation, and would have justified the severest measures of resentment? I did not attempt to blast your character by an indirect, ambiguous insinuation, but candidly stated to you a plain fact, which struck directly at the integrity of a privy counsellor, of a first commissioner of the treasury, and of a leading minister, who is supposed to enjoy the first share in his Majesty's confidence†. In every one of these capacities I employed the most moderate terms to charge you with treachery to your Sovereign, and breach of trust in your office. I accused you of having *sold*, or permitted to be *sold*, a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter, to one Mr. Hine, who, unable or unwilling to deposit the whole purchase-money himself, raised part of it by contribution, and has now a certain Doctor Brooke quartered upon the salary for one hundred pounds a year.—No sale by the candle was ever conducted with greater formality.—I affirm that the price, at which the place was knocked down (and which, I have good reason to think, was not less than three thousand five

* From the publication of the preceding to this date, not one word was said in defence of the infamous Duke of Grafton. But vice and impudence soon recovered themselves, and the sale of the royal favour was openly avowed and defended. We acknowledge the piety of St James's; but what is become of *his* morality?

† And by the same means preserves it to this hour.

hundred pounds) was, with your connivance and consent*, paid to Colonel Burgoyne, to reward him, I presume, for the decency of his deportment at Preston†; or to reimburse him, perhaps, for the fine of one thousand pounds, which, for that very deportment, the court of King's Bench thought proper to set upon him.—It is not often that the chief justice and the prime minister are so strangely at variance in their opinions of men and things.

I thank God there is not in human nature a degree of im-

* The friends of the noble duke chiefly attempted to shelter him under a denial that this transaction was done with his connivance or consent. The following is a letter upon this subject, in answer to the charge of JUNIUS, inserted in the Public Advertiser, Dec. 14, 1769.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

The infamous traduction of that libeller JUNIUS, his daring falsehoods, and gross misrepresentations, excite in me the utmost abhorrence and contempt, and I hope all his deadly poisons will be sheathed in the natural antidote every good mind has to malevolent and bitter invective. What act of delinquency has the Duke of Grafton committed, by colonel Burgoyne disposing of a patent obtained of his Grace? Will JUNIUS dare to assert it was with the Duke's privity, or for his emolument? Let us state the fact, and disarm the assassin at once. A place in the custom-house at Exeter becomes vacant—colonel Burgoyne asks it of the Duke of Grafton—he gives it.—The colonel says I cannot hold it myself; will you give it my friend?—The duke consents—the colonel nominates—the duke appoints;—but, says JUNIUS, the colonel set it up to sale, and actually received a sum of money for it. Be it so—he took a gross sum for what was given him as an annual income; and who is injured by this? If the Duke of Grafton sold it, he is impeachable; if he gave it to be sold, he is blameable; but if his Grace did neither, which is the fact, he is basely belied, and most impudently and wickedly vilified.

I am, Sir,

Your best friend,

Dec. 12.

JUSTICE.

JUNIUS, nevertheless, completely accomplished his object; the noble duke not chusing to persevere in this prosecution of Vaughan, with the prospect of a counter-accusation. See Private Letters, No. 15. EDIT.

† Colonel, afterwards general, Burgoyne, was commissioned by administration to offer himself as a candidate, upon a parliamentary vacancy in the borough of Preston. During the contest that ensued, he suffered his partizans to commit the most disgraceful excesses; and having squandered not less than ten thousand pounds, without success at last, he was, upon the close of the election, prosecuted for his riot, and fined, as stated in the text. EDIT.

puudence daring enough to deny the charge I have fixed upon you. Your courteous secretary*, your confidential architect†, are silent as the grave. Even Mr. Rigby's countenance fails him. He violates his second nature, and blushes whenever he speaks of you‡. Perhaps the noble colonel himself will relieve you. No man is more tender of his reputation. He is not only nice, but perfectly sore in every thing that touches his honour. If any man, for example, were to accuse him of taking his stand at a gaming-table, and watching with the soberest attention for a fair opportunity of engaging a drunken young nobleman at piquet, he would undoubtedly consider it as an infamous aspersion upon his character, and resent it like a man of honour.—Acquitting him therefore of drawing a regular and splendid subsistence from any unworthy practices, either in his own house or elsewhere, let me ask your Grace, for what military merits you have been pleased to reward him with a military government§? He had a regiment of dragoons, which one would imagine, was at least an equivalent for any services *he* ever performed. Besides, he is but a young officer, considering his preferment, and, except in his activity at Preston, not very conspicuous in his profession. But it seems, the sale of a civil employment was not sufficient, and military governments, which were intended for the support of worn out veterans, must be thrown into the scale, to defray the extensive bribery of a contested election. Are these the steps you take to secure to your Sovereign the attachment of his army? With what countenance dare you appear in the royal presence, branded as you are with the infamy of a notorious breach of trust? With what countenance can you take your seat at the treasury-board or in council, when you *feel* that every circulating whisper is at *your* expense alone, and stabs you to the heart? Have you a

* Tommy Bradshaw.

† Mr. Taylor. He and George Ross, (the Scotch agent and worthy confidant of Lord Mansfield) managed the business.

‡ Mr Rigby was proverbially remarked for a countenance not easily abashed by any occurrence. EDIT.

§ Col. Burgoyne, only a few days before the date of this letter, had been promoted to the Government of Fort St. George. EDIT.

single friend in parliament so shameless, so thoroughly abandoned, as to undertake your defence? You know, my Lord, that there is not a man in either house, whose character, however flagitious, would not be ruined by mixing his reputation with yours; and does not your heart inform you, that you are degraded below the condition of a man, when you are obliged to hear these insults with submission, and even to thank me for my moderation?

We are told, by the highest judicial authority, that Mr. Vaughan's offer to purchase the reversion of a patent in Jamaica (which he was otherwise sufficiently entitled to) amounted to a high misdemeanour*. Be it so: and if he de-

* A little before the publication of this and the preceding letter, the chaste Duke of Grafton had commenced a prosecution against Mr. Samuel Vaughan, for endeavouring to corrupt his integrity by an offer of five thousand pounds for a patent place in Jamaica. A rule to shew cause, why an information should not be exhibited against Vaughan for certain misdemeanours, being granted by the Court of King's Bench, the matter was solemnly argued on the 27th of November, 1769, and, by the unanimous opinion of the four judges, the rule was made absolute. The pleadings and speeches were accurately taken in short-hand and published. The whole of Lord Mansfield's speech, and particularly the following extracts from it, deserve the reader's attention. "A practice of the kind complained of here is certainly dishonourable and scandalous.—If a man, standing under the relation of an officer under the King, or of a person in whom the King puts confidence, or of a minister, takes money for the use of that confidence the King puts in him, he basely betrays the King,—he basely betrays his trust.—If the King sold the office, it would be acting contrary to the trust the constitution hath reposed in him. The constitution does not intend the crown should sell those offices, to raise a revenue out of them.—Is it possible to hesitate, whether this would not be criminal in the Duke of Grafton;—contrary to his duty as a privy counsellor;—contrary to his duty as a minister—contrary to his duty as a subject.—His advice should be free according to his judgment;—It is the duty of his office;—he has sworn to it."—Notwithstanding all this, the chaste Duke of Grafton certainly sold a patent place to Mr. Hine for three thousand five hundred pounds; and, for so doing, is now lord privy seal to the chaste George, with whose piety we are perpetually deafened. If the House of Commons had done their duty, and impeached the black Duke for this most infamous breach of trust, how woefully must poor, honest Mansfield have been puzzled! His embarrassment would have afforded the most ridiculous scene that ever was exhibited. To save the worthy judge from this perplexity, and the no less worthy Duke from impeachment, the prosecution against Vaughan was immediately dropped upon my discovery and publication of the

serves it, let him be punished. But the learned judge might have had a fairer opportunity of displaying the powers of his eloquence. Having delivered himself with so much energy upon the criminal nature, and dangerous consequences of any attempt to corrupt a man in your Grace's station, what would he have said to the minister himself, to that very privy counsellor, to that first commissioner of the treasury, who does not wait for, but impatiently solicits the touch of corruption; who employs the meanest of his creatures in these honourable services, and, forgetting the genius and fidelity of his secretary, descends to apply to his house-builder for assistance?

This affair, my Lord, will do infinite credit to government, if, to clear your character, you should think proper to bring it into the House of Lords, or into the court of King's Bench.—But, my Lord, you dare not do either.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXXV*.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

19 December, 1769.

WHEN the complaints of a brave and powerful people are observed to encrease in proportion to the wrongs they have suffered; when, instead of sinking into submission, they are roused to resistance, the time will soon arrive at which every

the Duke's treachery. The suffering this charge to pass, without any inquiry, fixes shameless prostitution upon the face of the House of Commons, more strongly than even the Middlesex election.—Yet the licentiousness of the press is complained of!

* The address to the King through the medium of this letter, made a very great impression upon the public mind at the moment of its appearance, and though 500 copies of the P. A. were printed in addition to the usual numbers circulated, not a single copy was to be procured in a few hours after its publication. The author himself, indeed, seemed to entertain a very favourable opinion of it; as in Private Letter, No. 15, speaking of this Letter, he says, "I am now meditating a capital, and, I hope, a final piece." It was for this production that the Printer was prosecuted, and obtained the celebrated verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing only."

inferior consideration must yield to the security of the Sovereign, and to the general safety of the state. There is a moment of difficulty and danger, at which flattery and falsehood can no longer deceive, and simplicity itself can no longer be misled. Let us suppose it arrived. Let us suppose a gracious, well-intentioned prince, made sensible at last of the great duty he owes to his people, and of his own disgraceful situation; that he looks round him for assistance, and asks for no advice, but how to gratify the wishes, and secure the happiness of his subjects. In these circumstances, it may be matter of curious SPECULATION to consider, if an honest man were permitted to approach a King, in what terms he would address himself to his Sovereign. Let it be imagined, no matter how improbable, that the first prejudice against his character is removed, that the ceremonious difficulties of an audience are surmounted, that he feels himself animated by the purest and most honourable affections to his King and country, and that the great person, whom he addresses, has spirit enough to bid him speak freely, and un-

only," the consequence of which, as already observed in note to page 19, was, that two distinct motions were made in court; one by the counsel for the defendant in arrest of judgment, grounded on its ambiguity, and another by the counsel for the Crown, to compel the defendant to shew cause why the verdict should not be entered up according to the legal import. The case being argued, the Court of King's Bench ultimately decided that a new trial should be granted. This accordingly commenced, when the attorney general observing to the Chief Justice, that he had not the original newspaper by which he could prove the publication; his Lordship laconically replied, "that's not my fault, Mr. Attorney:" and in this manner terminated the second trial. The fact is, that the foreman of the jury upon the first trial had pocketed the paper, upon its being handed to the jury box for inspection, and had afterwards destroyed it. The expense the defendant was put to in this prosecution, as stated in Private Letter, No. 19, amounted to about 120*l*. The late Mr. Almon, who was also prosecuted for selling a reprint of this letter, asserts, in a note to another edition of this work, that the legal expence incurred in defending his own action, which could not exceed that of the original printer, amounted to *between five and six hundred pounds!* An exaggeration which proves the necessity of exercising no small degree of caution, in estimating whatever other facts he has attempted to advance, with a view of elucidating the general history of the times. EDIT.

derstanding enough to listen to him with attention. Unacquainted with the vain impertinence of forms, he would deliver his sentiments with dignity and firmness, but not without respect.

SIR,

IT is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cause of every reproach and distress, which has attended your government, that you should never have been acquainted with the language of truth, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. It is not, however, too late to correct the error of your education. We are still inclined to make an indulgent allowance for the pernicious lessons you received in your youth, and to form the most sanguine hopes from the natural benevolence of your disposition*. We are far from thinking you capable of a direct, deliberate purpose to invade those original rights of your subjects, on which all their civil and political liberties depend. Had it been possible for us to entertain a suspicion so dishonourable to your character, we should long since have adopted a style of remonstrance very distant from the humility of complaint. The doctrine

* The plan of tutelage and future dominion over the heir apparent, laid many years ago at Carleton-house between the Princess Dowager and her favourite the Earl of Bute, was as gross and palpable, as that, which was concerted between Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, to govern Lewis the Fourteenth, and in effect to prolong his minority until the end of their lives. That prince had strong natural parts, and used frequently to blush for his own ignorance and want of education, which had been wilfully neglected by his mother and her minion. A little experience however soon shewed him how shamefully he had been treated, and for what infamous purposes he had been kept in ignorance. Our great Edward too, at an early period, had sense enough to understand the nature of the connection between his abandoned mother, and the detested Mortimer. But, since that time, human nature, we may observe, is greatly altered for the better. Dowagers may be chaste, and minions may be honest. When it was proposed to settle the present King's household as Prince of Wales, it is well known that the Earl of Bute was forced into it, in direct contradiction to the late King's inclination. *That* was the salient point, from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign took life and motion. From that moment, Lord Bute never suffered the Prince of Wales to be an instant out of his sight.—We need not look farther.

inculcated by our laws, *That the King can do no wrong*, is admitted without reluctance. We separate the amiable, good-natured prince, from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man, from the vices of his government. Were it not for this just distinction, I know not whether your Majesty's condition, or that of the English nation, would deserve most to be lamented. I would prepare your mind for a favourable reception of truth, by removing every painful, offensive idea of personal reproach. Your subjects, Sir, wish for nothing but that, as *they* are reasonable and affectionate enough to separate your person from your government, so *you*, in your turn, should distinguish between the conduct, which becomes the permanent dignity of a King, and that which serves only to promote the temporary interest and miserable ambition of a minister.

You ascended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a sincere resolution of giving universal satisfaction to your subjects*. You found them pleased with the novelty of a young prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words, and loyal to you not only from principle, but passion. It was not a cold profession of allegiance to the first magistrate, but a partial, animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country. They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave you a generous credit for the future blessings of your reign, and paid you in advance the dearest tribute of their affections. Such, Sir, was once the disposition of a people, who now surround your throne with reproaches and complaints. Do justice to yourself. Banish from your mind those unworthy opinions, with which some interested persons have laboured to possess you. Distrust the men, who tell you that the English are naturally light and inconstant;—that they complain without a cause. Withdraw your con-

* “Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne.” King's Speech. November 18, 1760. EDIT.

fidence equally from all parties: from ministers, favourites, and relations; and let there be one moment in your life, in which you have consulted your own understanding.

When you affectedly renounced the name of Englishman*, believe me, Sir, you were persuaded to pay a very ill-judged compliment to one part of your subjects, at the expence of another. While the natives of Scotland are not in actual rebellion, they are undoubtedly intitled to protection; nor do I mean to condemn the policy of giving some encouragement to the novelty of their affections for the house of Hanover. I am ready to hope for every thing from their new-born zeal, and from the future steadiness of their allegiance. But hitherto they have no claim to your favour. To honour them with a determined predilection and confidence, in exclusion of your English subjects, who placed your family, and, in spite of treachery and rebellion, have supported it upon the throne, is a mistake too gross, even for the unsuspecting generosity of youth. In this error we see a capital violation of the most obvious rules of policy and prudence. We trace it, however, to an original bias in your education, and are ready to allow for your inexperience.

To the same early influence we attribute it, that you have descended to take a share not only in the narrow views and interests of particular persons, but in the fatal malignity of their passions. At your accession to the throne, the whole system of government was altered, not from wisdom or deliberation, but because it had been adopted by your predecessor. A little personal motive of pique and resentment was sufficient to remove the ablest servants of the crown†; but it is not in this country, Sir, that such men can be dishonoured by the frowns of a King. They were dismissed,

* He means renounced a connexion with Englishmen in favour of Scotchmen: and the allusion is chiefly to Lord Bute and his immediate friends.
—EDIT.

† One of the first acts of the present reign was to dismiss Mr. Legge, because he had some years before refused to yield his interest in Hampshire to a Scotchman recommended by Lord Bute. This was the reason publicly assigned by his Lordship. AUTHOR.

The person here alluded to, was Sir Simeon Stuart. EDIT.

but could not be disgraced. Without entering into a minuter discussion of the merits of the peace, we may observe, in the imprudent hurry with which the first overtures from France were accepted, in the conduct of the negotiation, and terms of the treaty, the strongest marks of that precipitate spirit of concession, with which a certain part of your subjects have been at all times ready to purchase a peace with the natural enemies of this country. On *your* part we are satisfied that every thing was honourable and sincere, and if England was sold to France, we doubt not that your Majesty was equally betrayed. The conditions of the peace were matter of grief and surprise to your subjects, but not the immediate cause of their present discontent.

Hitherto, Sir, you had been sacrificed to the prejudices and passions of others. With what firmness will you bear the mention of your own?

A man, not very honourably distinguished in the world, commences a formal attack upon your favourite, considering nothing, but how he might best expose his person and principles to detestation, and the national character of his countrymen to contempt. The natives of that country, Sir, are as much distinguished by a peculiar character, as by your Majesty's favour. Like another chosen people, they have been conducted into the land of plenty, where they find themselves effectually marked, and divided from mankind. There is hardly a period, at which the most irregular character may not be redeemed. The mistakes of one sex find a retreat in patriotism; those of the other in devotion. Mr. Wilkes brought with him into politics the same liberal sentiments, by which his private conduct had been directed, and seemed to think, that, as there are few excesses, in which an English gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the same latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the spirit of maintaining them.—I mean to state, not entirely to defend his conduct. In the earnestness of his zeal, he suffered some unwarrantable insinuations to escape him. He said more than moderate men would justify; but not enough to entitle him to the honour of your Majesty's

personal resentment. The rays of Royal indignation, collected upon him, served only to illuminate, and could not consume. Animated by the favour of the people on one side, and heated by persecution on the other, his views and sentiments changed with his situation. Hardly serious at first, he is now an enthusiast. The coldest bodies warm with opposition, the hardest sparkle in collision. There is a holy mistaken zeal in politics as well as religion. By persuading others, we convince ourselves. The passions are engaged, and create a maternal affection in the mind, which forces us to love the cause, for which we suffer.—Is this a contention worthy of a King? Are you not sensible how much the meanness of the cause gives an air of ridicule to the serious difficulties into which you have been betrayed? the destruction of one man has been now, for many years, the sole object of your government; and if there can be any thing still more disgraceful, we have seen, for such an object, the utmost influence of the executive power, and every ministerial artifice exerted without success. Nor can you ever succeed, unless *he* should be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of those laws, to which you owe your crown, or unless your ministers should persuade you to make it a question of force alone, and try the whole strength of government in opposition to the people. The lessons *he* has received from experience, will probably guard him from such excess of folly; and in your Majesty's virtues we find an unquestionable assurance that no illegal violence will be attempted.

Far from suspecting you of so horrible a design, we would attribute the continued violation of the laws, and even this last enormous attack upon the vital principles of the constitution, to an ill-advised, unworthy, personal resentment. From one false step you have been betrayed into another, and as the cause was unworthy of you, your ministers were determined that the prudence of the execution should correspond with the wisdom and dignity of the design. They have reduced you to the necessity of choosing out of a variety of difficulties;—to a situation so unhappy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, nor right without affliction.

These worthy servants have undoubtedly given you many singular proofs of their abilities. Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they have judiciously transferred the question, from the rights and interests of one man, to the most important rights and interests of the people, and forced your subjects, from wishing well to the cause of an individual, to unite with him in their own. Let them proceed as they have begun, and your Majesty need not doubt that the catastrophe will do no dishonour to the conduct of the piece.

The circumstances to which you are reduced, will not admit of a compromise with the English nation. Undecisive, qualifying measures will disgrace your government still more than open violence, and, without satisfying the people, will excite their contempt. They have too much understanding and spirit to accept of an indirect satisfaction for a direct injury. Nothing less than a repeal, as formal as the resolution itself, can heal the wound, which has been given to the constitution*, nor will any thing less be accepted. I can readily believe that there is an influence sufficient to recal that pernicious vote. The House of Commons undoubtedly consider their duty to the crown as paramount to all other obligations. To *us* they are only indebted for an accidental existence, and have justly transferred their gratitude from their parents to their benefactors;—from those, who gave them birth, to the minister, from whose benevolence they derive the comforts and pleasures of their political life;—who has taken the tenderest care of their infancy, and relieves their necessities without offending their delicacy. But, if it were possible for their integrity to be degraded to a condition so vile and abject, that, compared with it, the present estimation they stand in is a state of honour and respect, consider, Sir, in what manner you will afterwards proceed. Can you conceive that the people of this country will long submit to be governed by so flexible a House of Commons! It is not in the nature of human society, that any form of

* See note to Letter XLVI. in which the repeal of this resolution is distinctly detailed. EDITOR

government, in such circumstances, can long be preserved. In ours, the general contempt of the people is as fatal as their detestation. Such, I am persuaded, would be the necessary effect of any base concession made by the present House of Commons, and, as a qualifying measure would not be accepted, it remains for you to decide whether you will, at any hazard, support a set of men, who have reduced you to this unhappy dilemma, or whether you will gratify the united wishes of the whole people of England by dissolving the parliament.

Taking it for granted, as I do very sincerely, that you have personally no design against the constitution, nor any views inconsistent with the good of your subjects, I think you cannot hesitate long upon the choice, which it equally concerns your interest, and your honour to adopt. On one side, you hazard the affections of all your English subjects; you relinquish every hope of repose to yourself, and you endanger the establishment of your family for ever. All this you venture for no object whatsoever, or for such an object, as it would be an affront to you to name. Men of sense will examine your conduct with suspicion; while those who are incapable of comprehending to what degree they are injured, afflict you with clamours equally insolent and unmeaning. Supposing it possible that no fatal struggle should ensue, you determine at once to be unhappy, without the hope of a compensation either from interest or ambition. If an English King be hated or despised, he *must* be unhappy; and this perhaps is the only political truth, which he ought to be convinced of without experiment. But if the English people should no longer confine their resentment to a submissive representation of their wrongs; if, following the glorious example of their ancestors, they should no longer appeal to the creature of the constitution, but to that high Being, who gave them the rights of humanity, whose gifts it were sacrilege to surrender, let me ask you, Sir, upon what part of your subjects would you rely for assistance.

The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return, they give you every day fresh marks

of their resentment. They despise the miserable governor you have sent them*, because he is the creature of Lord Bute; nor is it from any natural confusion in their ideas, that they are so ready to confound the original of a King with the disgraceful representation of him.

The distance of the Colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between *you* and your ministers. They complained of an act of the legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the crown: They pleased themselves with the hope that their Sovereign, if not favourable to their cause, at least was impartial. The decisive, personal part you took against them, has effectually banished that first distinction from their minds†. They consider you as united with your servants against America, and know how to distinguish the Sovereign and a venal parliament on one side, from the real sentiments of the English people on the other. Looking forward to independence, they might possibly receive you for their King; but, if ever you retire to America, be assured they will give you such a covenant to digest, as the presbytery of Scotland would have been ashamed to offer to Charles the second. They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree:—they

* Viscount Townshend, sent over on the plan of being resident governor. The history of his ridiculous administration shall not be lost to the public. AUTHOR.

This promise the author did not fulfil; but see his *Miscellaneous Letters*, No. iv. et seq. on the appointment of this nobleman to the Lord Lieutenancy. EDIT.

† In the King's speech of 8 November, 1768, it was declared "That the spirit of faction had broken out afresh in some of the colonies, and, in one of them, proceeded to acts of violence and resistance to the execution of the laws;—that Boston was in a state of disobedience to all law and government, and had proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances, that manifested a disposition to throw off their dependance on Great Britain."

equally detest the pageantry of a King, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop.

It is not then from the alienated affections of Ireland or America, that you can reasonably look for assistance; still less from the people of England, who are actually contending for their rights, and in this great question, are parties against you. You are not, however, destitute of every appearance of support: You have all the Jacobites, Nonjurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories of this country, and all Scotland without exception. Considering from what family you are descended, the choice of your friends has been singularly directed; and truly, Sir, if you had not lost the Whig interest of England, I should admire your dexterity in turning the hearts of your enemies. Is it possible for you to place any confidence in men, who, before they are faithful to you, must renounce every opinion, and betray every principle, both in church and state, which they inherit from their ancestors, and are confirmed in by their education? whose numbers are so inconsiderable, that they have long since been obliged to give up the principles and language which distinguish them as a party, and to fight under the banners of their enemies? Their zeal begins with hypocrisy, and must conclude in treachery. At first they deceive; at last they betray.

As to the Scotch, I must suppose your heart and understanding so biassed, from your earliest infancy, in their favour, that nothing less than *your own* misfortunes can undeceive you. You will not accept of the uniform experience of your ancestors; and when once a man is determined to believe, the very absurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his faith. A bigoted understanding can draw a proof of attachment to the house of Hanover from a notorious zeal for the house of Stuart, and find an earnest of future loyalty in former rebellions. Appearances are however in their favour: so strongly indeed, that one would think they had forgotten that you are their lawful King, and had mistaken you for a pretender to the crown. Let it be admitted then that the Scotch are as sincere in their present professions, as if you

were in reality not an Englishman, but a Briton of the North. You would not be the first prince, of their native country, against whom they have rebelled, nor the first whom they have basely betrayed. Have you forgotten, Sir, or has your favourite concealed from you that part of our history, when the unhappy Charles, (and he too had private virtues) fled from the open, avowed indignation of his English subjects, and surrendered himself at discretion to the good faith of his own countrymen. Without looking for support in their affections as subjects, he applied only to their honour as gentlemen, for protection. They received him as they would your Majesty, with bows, and smiles, and falsehood, and kept him until they had settled their bargain with the English parliament; then basely sold their native king to the vengeance of his enemies. This, Sir, was not the act of a few traitors, but the deliberate treachery of a Scotch parliament, representing the nation. A wise prince might draw from it two lessons of equal utility to himself. On one side he might learn to dread the undisguised resentment of a generous people, who dare openly assert their rights, and who, in a just cause, are ready to meet their Sovereign in the field. On the other side, he would be taught to apprehend something far more formidable;—a fawning treachery, against which no prudence can guard, no courage can defend. The insidious smile upon the cheek would warn him of the canker in the heart.

From the uses to which one part of the army has been too frequently applied*, you have some reason to expect, that there are no services they would refuse. Here too we trace the partiality of your understanding. You take the sense of the army from the conduct of the guards, with the same justice with which you collect the sense of the people from the representations of the ministry. Your marching regiments, Sir, will not make the guards their example either as soldiers or subjects. They feel and resent, as they ought to do, that invariable, undistinguishing favour with which the

* See Miscellaneous Letters, No. xxiv. in which the Author discusses this subject more at large. EDIT.

guards are treated*; while those gallant troops, by whom every hazardous, every laborious service is performed, are left to perish in garrisons abroad, or pine in quarters at home, neglected and forgotten. If they had no sense of the great original duty they owe their country, their resentment would operate like patriotism, and leave your cause to be defended by those, to whom you have lavished the rewards and honours of their profession. The Prætorian Bands, enervated and debauched as they were, had still strength enough to awe the Roman populace: but when the distant legions took the alarm, they marched to Rome, and gave away the empire.

On this side then, which ever way you turn your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You may determine to support the very ministry who have reduced your affairs to this deplorable situation: you may shelter yourself under the forms of a parliament, and set your people at defiance. But be assured, Sir, that such a resolution would be as imprudent as it would be odious. If it did not immediately shake your establishment, it would rob you of your peace of mind for ever.

On the other, how different is the prospect! How easy, how safe and honourable is the path before you! The English nation declare they are grossly injured by their representatives, and solicit your Majesty to exert your lawful prerogative, and give them an opportunity of recalling a trust, which, they find, has been scandalously abused. You are not to be told that the power of the House of Commons

* The number of commissioned officers in the guards are to the marching regiments as *one* to eleven;—the number of regiments given to the guards, compared with those given to the line, is about three to one, at a moderate computation; consequently the partiality in favour of the guards is as thirty-three to one.—So much for the officers.—The private men have fourpence a day to subsist on; and five hundred lashes, if they desert. Under this punishment, they frequently expire. With these encouragements, it is supposed, they may be depended upon, whenever a certain person thinks it necessary to butcher his *fellow subjects*. AUTHOR.

The impolicy here pointed out has been since acknowledged and acted upon: and the soldier of the present day has no reason to complain either of poverty of income, or severity of discipline. EDIT.

is not original, but delegated to them for the welfare of the people, from whom they received it. A question of right arises between the constituent and the representative body. By what authority shall it be decided? Will your Majesty interfere in a question in which you have properly no immediate concern.—It would be a step equally odious and unnecessary. Shall the Lords be called upon to determine the rights and privileges of the Commons?—They cannot do it without a flagrant breach of the constitution. Or will you refer it to the judges?—They have often told your ancestors, that the law of parliament is above them. What party then remains, but to leave it to the people to determine for themselves? They alone are injured; and since there is no superior power, to which the cause can be referred, they alone ought to determine.

I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument upon a subject already so discussed, that inspiration could hardly throw a new light upon it. There are, however, two points of view, in which it particularly imports your Majesty to consider the late proceedings of the House of Commons. By depriving a subject of his birthright, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legislature; and, though perhaps not with the same motives, have strictly followed the example of the long parliament, which first declared the regal office useless, and soon after with as little ceremony, dissolved the House of Lords. The same pretended power, which robs an English subject of his birthright, may rob an English King of his crown. In another view, the resolution of the House of Commons, apparently not so dangerous to your Majesty, is still more alarming to your people. Not contented with divesting one man of his right, they have arbitrarily conveyed that right to another. They have set aside a return as illegal, without daring to censure those officers, who were particularly apprized of Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, not only by the declaration of the House, but expressly by the writ directed to them, and, who nevertheless returned him as duly elected. They

have rejected the majority of votes, the only criterion, by which our laws judge of the sense of the people; they have transferred the right of election from the collective to the representative body; and by these acts, taken separately or together, they have essentially altered the original constitution of the House of Commons. Versed, as your Majesty undoubtedly is, in the English history, it cannot easily escape you, how much it is your interest, as well as your duty, to prevent one of the three estates from encroaching upon the province of the other two, or assuming the authority of them all. When once they have departed from the great constitutional line, by which all their proceedings should be directed, who will answer for their future moderation? Or what assurance will they give you, that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will submit to a superior? Your Majesty may learn hereafter, how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied.

Some of your council, more candid than the rest, admit the abandoned profligacy of the present House of Commons, but oppose their dissolution upon an opinion, I confess not very unwarrantable, that their successors would be equally at the disposal of the treasury. I cannot persuade myself that the nation will have profited so little by experience. But if that opinion were well founded, you might then gratify our wishes at an easy rate, and appease the present clamour against your government, without offering any material injury to the favourite cause of corruption.

You have still an honourable part to act. The affections of your subjects may still be recovered. But before you subdue *their* hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own. Discard those little, personal resentments, which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man the remainder of his punishment; and if resentment still prevails, make it, what it should have been long since, an act not of mercy, but contempt. He will soon fall back into his natural station,—a silent senator, and hardly supporting the weekly eloquence of a newspaper. The gentle breath of

peace would leave him on the surface, neglected and unre-moved. It is only the tempest, that lifts him from his place*.

* It is evident from other passages, as well as the present, that JUNIUS was not, strictly speaking, a partisan of Mr. Wilkes, though he was a determined enemy to the decision of the House of Commons with respect to the Middlesex election. Mr. Wilkes, previous to the judgment of the court of King's Bench for two libels, which are more particularly touched upon in the Editor's note to Letter XLVI. presented the following address and petition to the King, to neither of which, however, was any answer returned. It is to these documents that JUNIUS alludes in the recommendation given in the foregoing paragraph.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIRE,

I BEG to throw myself at your Majesty's feet, and to supplicate that mercy and clemency which shine with such lustre among your many princely virtues.

Some former ministers, whom your Majesty, in condescension to the wishes of your people, thought proper to remove, employed every wicked and deceitful art to oppress your subjects, and to revenge their own personal cause on me, whom they imagined to be the principal author of bringing to the public view their ignorance, insufficiency, and treachery to your Majesty and the nation.

I have been the innocent but unhappy victim of their revenge. I was forced by their injustice and violence into an exile, which I have never ceased for several years to consider as the most cruel oppression, because I no longer could be under the benign protection of your Majesty in the land of liberty.

With a heart full of zeal for the service of your Majesty, and my country, I implore, Sire, your clemency. My only hopes of pardon are founded in the great goodness and benevolence of your Majesty; and every day of freedom you may be graciously pleased to permit me the enjoyment of in my dear native land, shall give proofs of my zeal and attachment to your service.

I am,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's most obedient,
and dutiful subject,

March 4, 1768.

JOHN WILKES.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of John Wilkes,

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioner, having stood forth in support of the constitutional rights of this kingdom, in opposition to a late violent administration, hath
been

Without consulting your minister, call together your whole council. Let it appear to the public that you can determine and act for yourself. Come forward to your people. Lay aside the wretched formalities of a King, and speak to your subjects with the spirit of a man, and in the language of a gentleman. Tell them you have been fatally deceived. The acknowledgment will be no disgrace, but rather an honour to your understanding. Tell them you are determined to remove every cause of complaint against your government; that you will give your confidence to no man, who does not possess the confidence of your subjects; and leave it to themselves to determine, by their conduct at a future election, whether or no it be in reality the general sense of the nation, that their rights have been arbitrarily invaded by the present House of Commons, and the constitution betrayed. They will then do justice to their representatives and to themselves.

These sentiments, Sir, and the stile they are conveyed in, may be offensive, perhaps, because they are new to you. Accustomed to the language of courtiers, you measure their affections by the vehemence of their expressions; and, when they only praise you indirectly, you admire their sincerity. But this is not a time to trifle with your fortune. They deceive you, Sir, who tell you that you have many friends, whose affections are founded upon a principle of personal attachment. The first foundation of friendship is not the

been severely prosecuted at law, and sentenced to pay a heavy fine, and to suffer an imprisonment of twenty-two months; that the unfair methods employed to convict your petitioner have been palpable and manifest; that the petitioner has always been your Majesty's loyal subject, zealously attached to your illustrious house, and will remain the same to the end of his life; that he looks up to the throne only for that protection and justice, which eminently distinguish your Majesty's royal character; that your petitioner, with the greatest deference, submits the whole of his case to your Majesty's consideration, and humbly supplicates your royal clemency.

And your Petitioner,
as in duty bound,
shall ever pray.

JOHN WILKES

King's Bench Prison,
Nov. 28, 1768.

power of conferring benefits, but the equality with which they are received, and *may* be returned. The fortune, which made you a King, forbad you to have a friend. It is a law of nature which cannot be violated with impunity. The mistaken Prince, who looks for friendship, will find a favourite, and in that favourite the ruin of his affairs.

The people of England are loyal to the house of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is a principle of allegiance equally solid and rational;—fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your Majesty's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal distinctions. The name of Stuart, of itself, is only contemptible;—armed with the sovereign authority, their principles are formidable. The Prince, who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example; and while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another*.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXXVI.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

MY LORD,

14 Feb. 1770.

IF I were personally your enemy, I might pity and forgive you. You have every claim to compassion, that can arise from misery and distress. The condition you are reduced to would disarm a private enemy of his resentment, and leave no consolation to the most vindictive spirit, but

* A writer in the Public Advertiser, who employed the signature of Modestus, and is occasionally noticed by JUNIUS, under some one of his auxiliary signatures, published in the same newspaper a counter-epistle to the King, but it does not appear to have attracted much attention. It was the peculiar misfortune of the administration of the period before us, to be more ruined by their own writers than their own misdeeds. The date of this letter of Modestus is Dec. 23, 1769. EDIT

that such an object, as you are, would disgrace the dignity of revenge*. But in the relation you have borne to this country, you have no title to indulgence; and if I had followed the dictates of my own opinion, I never should have allowed you the respite of a moment. In your public character, you have injured every subject of the empire; and though an individual is not authorized to forgive the injuries done to society, he is called upon to assert his separate share in the public resentment. I submitted however to the judgment of men, more moderate, perhaps more candid, than myself. For my own part, I do not pretend to understand those prudent forms of decorum, those gentle rules of discretion, which some men endeavour to unite with the conduct of the greatest and most hazardous affairs. Engaged in the defence of an honourable cause, I would take a decisive part.—I should scorn to provide for a future retreat, or to keep terms with a man, who preserves no measures with the public. Neither the abject submission of deserting his post in the hour of danger, nor even the † sacred shield of cowardice should protect him. I would pursue him through life, and try the last exertion of my abilities to preserve the perishable infamy of his name, and make it immortal.

What then, my Lord, is this the event of all the sacrifices you have made to Lord Bute's patronage, and to your own unfortunate ambition? Was it for this you abandoned your earliest friendships,—the warmest connexions of your youth, and all those honourable engagements, by which you once solicited, and might have acquired the esteem of your country? Have you secured no recompence for such a waste of

* The duke had now resigned the office of first lord of the treasury, harassed and worn out by the attacks of Lord Chatham and his friends in parliament, and of JUNIUS, and the petitioners and remonstrators from all parts of the country out of parliament. He resigned abruptly, and left the cabinet in some confusion, Lord Camden having not long before been compelled to leave the office of Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Charles Yorke, who had been called to succeed him, having killed himself through mere political vexation. The Duke of Grafton was succeeded by Lord North.
—EDIT.

† — *Sacro tremuere timore*. Every coward pretends to be planet-struck.

honour?—Unhappy man! what party will receive the common deserter of all parties? Without a client to flatter, without a friend to console you, and with only one companion from the honest house of Bloomsbury, you must now retire into a dreadful solitude. At the most active period of life, you must quit the busy scene, and conceal yourself from the world, if you would hope to save the wretched remains of a ruined reputation. The vices operate like age,—bring on disease before its time, and in the prime of youth leave the character broken and exhausted.

Yet your conduct has been mysterious, as well as contemptible. Where is now that firmness, or obstinacy so long boasted of by your friends, and acknowledged by your enemies? We were taught to expect, that you would not leave the ruin of this country to be compleated by other hands, but were determined either to gain a decisive victory over the constitution, or to perish bravely at least behind the last dyke of the prerogative. You knew the danger, and might have been provided for it. You took sufficient time to prepare for a meeting with your parliament, to confirm the mercenary fidelity of your dependants, and to suggest to your Sovereign a language suited to his dignity at least, if not to his benevolence and wisdom. Yet, while the whole kingdom was agitated with anxious expectation upon one great point, you meanly evaded the question, and, instead of the explicit firmness and decision of a King, gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined * grazier, and the whining

* There was something wonderfully pathetic in the mention of the *horned cattle*. AUTHOR.

It was with this term that the speech from the throne may be said to have commenced—in allusion to the distemper among the *horned cattle*, a kind of murrain which had prevailed largely on the continent, and to prevent the importation of which into this country, various regulations had been adopted by the privy council during the recess. It was impossible for JUNIUS to restrain from this stroke of pleasantry upon the Duke of Grafton, the inditer or composer of the royal speech.

While the speech thus condescended to take notice of the veterinary concerns of the nation, the petitions and remonstrances that had been presented from the city, from Westminster, from Surrey, York, and other parts of the kingdom, were purposely disregarded and treated with silent contempt. EDIT.

piety of a Methodist. We had reason to expect, that notice would have been taken of the petitions which the King has received from the English nation; and although I can conceive some personal motives for not yielding to them, I can find none, in common prudence or decency, for treating them with contempt. Be assured, my Lord, the English people will not tamely submit to this unworthy treatment;—they had a right to be heard, and their petitions, if not granted, deserved to be considered. Whatever be the real views and doctrine of a court, the Sovereign should be taught to preserve some forms of attention to his subjects, and if he will not redress their grievances, not to make them a topic of jest and mockery among lords and ladies of the bedchamber. Injuries may be atoned for and forgiven; but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge. This neglect of the petitions was however a part of your original plan of government, nor will any consequences it has produced account for your deserting your Sovereign, in the midst of that distress, in which you and your * new friends had involved him. One would think, my Lord, you might have taken this spirited resolution before you had dissolved the last of those early connexions, which once, even in your own opinion, did honour to your youth;—before you had obliged Lord Granby to quit a service he was attached to;—before you had discarded one chancellor†, and killed another‡. To what an abject condition have you laboured to reduce the best of princes, when the unhappy man, who yields at last to such personal instance and solicitation, as never can be fairly employed against a subject, feels himself degraded by his compliance, and is unable to survive the disgraceful honours which his gracious Sovereign had compelled him to accept. He was a man of spirit, for he had a

* The Bedford party.

† See note * in p. 209. Lord Granby had resigned about the time of the dismissal of Lord Camden, and for similar reasons.

‡ Honourable Charles Yorke, brother of Lord Hardwicke. See the above note in p. 209.

quick sense of shame, and death has redeemed his character. I know your Grace too well to appeal to your feelings upon this event; but there is another heart, not yet, I hope, quite callous to the touch of humanity, to which it ought to be a dreadful lesson for ever*.

Now, my Lord, let us consider the situation to which you have conducted, and in which you have thought it adviseable to abandon your royal master. Whenever the people have complained, and nothing better could be said in defence of the measures of government, it has been the fashion to answer us, though not very fairly, with an appeal to the private virtues of our Sovereign. "Has he not, to relieve the people, surrendered a considerable part of his revenue?—Has he not made the judges independent, by fixing them in their places for life?"—My Lord, we acknowledge the gracious principle, which gave birth to these concessions, and have nothing to regret, but that it has never been adhered to. At the end of seven years, we are loaded with a debt of above five hundred thousand pounds upon the civil list, and we now see the chancellor of Great Britain tyrannically forced out of his office, not for want of abilities, not for want of integrity, or of attention to his duty, but for delivering his honest opinion in parliament, upon the greatest constitutional question, that has arisen since the revolution†.—We

* The most secret particulars of this detestable transaction shall, in due time, be given to the public. The people shall know what kind of man they have to deal with.

† The question here alluded to, was the legality of the vote of the House of Commons, which seated Mr. Luttrell for the county of Middlesex. A great debate arose upon this subject in the House of Lords on the opening of the session, January 9, 1770, in which Lord Camden expressed his decided disapprobation of the conduct pursued by the lower house, in the following energetic terms:—"I consider the decision upon that affair, as a direct attack upon the first principles of the constitution; and if, in the judicial exercise of my office, I were to pay any regard to that, or to any other such vote, passed in opposition to the known and established laws of the land, I should look upon myself as a traitor to my trust, and an enemy to my country."

This public avowal of an opinion, so contrary to the proceedings, if not to the views, of administration, was considered by them as a total defection; and on the 17th of the same month, Lord Camden received a mes-

sage

care not to whose private virtues you appeal; the theory of such a government is falsehood and mockery;—the practice is oppression. You have laboured then (though I confess to no purpose) to rob your master of the only plausible answer, that ever was given in defence of his government,—of the opinion, which the people had conceived of his personal honour and integrity.—The Duke of Bedford was more moderate than your Grace. He only forced his master to violate a solemn promise made to an * individual. But you, my Lord, have successfully extended your advice to every political, every moral engagement, that could bind either the magistrate or the man. The condition of a King is often miserable, but it required your Grace's abilities to make it contemptible.—You will say perhaps that the faithful servants, in whose hands you have left him, are able to retrieve his honour, and to support his government. You have publicly declared, even since your resignation, that you approved of their measures, and admired their characters, particularly that of the Earl of Sandwich†. What a pity it is, that, with all this approbation, you should think it necessary to separate yourself from such amiable companions. You forget, my Lord, that while you are lavish in the praise of men whom you desert, you are publicly opposing your conduct to your opinions, and depriving yourself of the only plausible pretence you had for leaving your Sovereign overwhelmed with distress; I call it plausible, for, in truth, there is no reason whatsoever, less than the frowns of your master, that could justify a man of spirit for abandoning his post at a moment so critical and important? It is in vain to evade the question. If you will not speak out, the public have a right to judge from appearances. We are authorized to conclude, that you either differed from your colleagues, whose mea-

sage from the secretary of state's office, desiring, in his Majesty's name, that he would deliver up the seals that evening at seven o'clock; which he did accordingly, into his Majesty's own hands. EDIT.

* Mr. Stuart Mackenzie.—See the instance referred to in Letter xix. note, page 92. EDIT.

† Lord Sandwich had been first Lord of the Admiralty, and was again nominated to this post in 1771. EDIT.

sures you still affect to defend, or that you thought the administration of the King's affairs no longer tenable. You are at liberty to choose between the hypocrite and the coward. Your best friends are in doubt which way they shall incline. Your country unites the characters, and gives you credit for them both. For my own part, I see nothing inconsistent in your conduct. You began with betraying the people,—you conclude with betraying the King.

In your treatment of particular persons, you have preserved the uniformity of your character. Even Mr. Bradshaw declares, that no man was ever so ill used as himself. As to the provision* you have made for his family, he was intitled to it by the house he lives in. The successor of one Chancellor might well pretend to be the rival of another. It is the breach of private friendship which touches Mr. Bradshaw: and to say the truth, when a man of his rank and abilities had taken so active a part in your affairs, he ought not to have been let down at last with a miserable pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. Colonel Luttrell, Mr. Onslow, and Governor Burgoyne, were equally engaged with you, and have rather more reason to complain than Mr. Bradshaw. These are men, my Lord, whose friendship you should have adhered to on the same principle, on which you deserted Lord Rockingham, Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, and the Duke of Portland. We can easily account for your violating your engagements with men of honour, but why should you betray your *natural* connexions? Why separate

* A pension of 1500*l.* per annum, insured upon the 4 1-half per cents, (he was too cunning to trust to Irish security) for the lives of himself and all his sons. This gentleman, who a very few years ago was clerk to a contractor for forage, and afterwards exalted to a petty post in the war office, thought it necessary (as soon as he was appointed secretary to the treasury) to take that great house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in which the earl of Northington had resided, while he was lord high chancellor of Great Britain. As to the pension, Lord North very solemnly assured the House of Commons, that no pension was ever so well deserved as Mr. Bradshaw's.—N. B. Lord Camden and Sir Jeffery Amherst are not near so well provided for, and Sir Edward Hawke, who saved the state, retires with two thousand pounds a year, on the Irish establishment, from which he in fact receives less than Mr. Bradshaw's pension.

yourself from Lord Sandwich, Lord Gower, and Mr. Rigby, or leave the three worthy gentlemen abovementioned to shift for themselves? With all the fashionable indulgence of the times, this country does not abound in characters like theirs; and you may find it a difficult matter to recruit the black catalogue of your friends.

The recollection of the royal patent you sold to Mr. Hine, obliges me to say a word in defence of a man whom you have taken the most dishonourable means to injure*. I do not refer to the sham prosecution which you affected to carry on against him. On that ground, I doubt not he is prepared to meet you with tenfold recrimination, and set you at defiance. The injury you have done him affects his moral character. You knew that the offer to purchase the reversion of a place, which has heretofore been sold under a decree of the court of Chancery, however imprudent in his situation, would no way tend to cover him with that sort of guilt which you wished to fix upon him in the eyes of the world. You laboured then, by every species of false suggestion, and even by publishing counterfeit letters, to have it understood, that he had proposed terms of accomodation to you, and had offered to abandon his principles, his party, and his friends. You consulted your own breast for a character of consummate treachery, and gave it to the public for that of Mr. Vaughan. I think myself obliged to do this justice to an injured man, because I was deceived by the appearances thrown out by your Grace, and have frequently spoken of his conduct with indignation. If he really be, what I think him, honest, though mistaken, he will be happy in recovering his reputation, though at the expense of his understanding. Here, I see, the matter is likely to rest. Your Grace is afraid to carry on the prosecution. Mr. Hine keeps quiet possession of his purchase; and Governor Burgoyne, relieved from the apprehension of refunding the money, sits down for the remainder of his life, INFAMOUS AND CONTENTED.

I believe, my Lord, I may now take my leave of you for ever. You are no longer that resolute minister, who had spi-

* See Private Letters, Nos. 15 and 17, and note to p. 185. of this vol.—
EDIT.

rit to support the most violent measures; who compensated for the want of great and good qualities, by a brave determination, (which some people admired and relied on) to maintain himself without them. The reputation of obstinacy and perseverance might have supplied the place of all the absent virtues. You have now added the last negative to your character, and meanly confessed that you are destitute of the common spirit of a man. Retire then, my Lord, and hide your blushes from the world; for, with such a load of shame, even BLACK may change its colour. A mind such as yours, in the solitary hours of domestic enjoyment, may still find topics of consolation. You may find it in the memory of violated friendship; in the afflictions of an accomplished prince, whom you have disgraced and deserted, and in the agitations of a great country, driven, by *your* councils, to the brink of destruction.

The palm of ministerial firmness is now transferred to Lord North. He tells us so himself, with the plenitude of the *ore rotundo**; and I am ready enough to believe, that, while he can keep his place, he will not easily be persuaded to resign it. Your Grace was the firm minister of yesterday: Lord North is the firm minister of to-day. To-morrow, perhaps, his Majesty, in his wisdom, may give us a rival for you both. You are too well acquainted with the temper of your late allies, to think it possible that Lord North should be permitted to govern this country. If we may believe common fame, they have shewn him their superiority already. His Majesty is indeed too gracious to insult his subjects, by choosing his first minister from among the domestics of the Duke of Bedford. That would have been too gross an outrage to the three kingdoms. Their purpose, however, is equally answered by pushing forward this unhappy figure†, and forcing it to bear the odium of measures, which they in reality direct. Without immediately appearing to

* This eloquent person has got as far as the *discipline* of Demosthenes. He constantly speaks with pebbles in his mouth, to improve his articulation.

† Those who had the pleasure of being acquainted with the amiable Earl of Guilford, here spoken of, or have in any other way duly estimated his virtues, will feel the bitterness of this sarcasm, though they must acknowledge its truth. EDIT.

government, they possess the power, and distribute the emoluments of government as they think proper. They still adhere to the spirit of that calculation, which made Mr. Luttrell representative of Middlesex. Far from regretting your retreat, they assure us very gravely, that it increases the real strength of the ministry. According to this way of reasoning, they will probably grow stronger, and more flourishing, every hour they exist; for I think there is hardly a day passes in which some one or other of his Majesty's servants does not leave them to improve by the loss of his assistance. But, alas! their countenances speak a different language. When the Members drop off, the main body cannot be insensible of its approaching dissolution. Even the violence of their proceedings is a signal of despair. Like broken tenants, who have had warning to quit the premises, they curse their landlord, destroy the fixtures, throw every thing into confusion, and care not what mischief they do to the estate.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXXVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

19 March, 1770.

I BELIEVE there is no man, however indifferent about the interests of this country, who will not readily confess that the situation, to which we are now reduced, whether it has arisen from the violence of faction, or from an arbitrary system of government, justifies the most melancholy apprehensions, and calls for the exertion of whatever wisdom or vigour is left among us. The King's answer to the remonstrance of the city of London*, and the measures since

* The city of London, the city and liberty of Westminster, the counties of Middlesex, Surry, &c. had presented petitions to his Majesty to dissolve the parliament, in consequence of the illegal rejection of Wilkes by the lower House, after having been returned for the fourth time as a knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex. These petitions had not been graciously received; and the petitioners next assumed a bolder tone, and approached the throne with *remonstrances* upon the answers that had

adopted by the ministry, amount to a plain declaration that the principle, on which Mr. Luttrell was seated in the House of Commons, is to be supported in all its consequences, and carried to its utmost extent. The same spirit, which violated

been returned to them. The remonstrance presented by the city of Westminster is contained in note to Private Letter, No. 22. The remonstrance of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, here referred to, was, after some difficulty, presented to his Majesty, Mar. 14, 1770. For the particulars of this dispute, see Editor's note to Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXX. The following is a copy of the remonstrance, &c.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, in Common Hall assembled.

" May it please your Majesty,

" WE have already in our petition dutifully represented to your Majesty, the chief injuries we have sustained. We are unwilling to believe that your Majesty can slight the desires of your people, or be regardless of their affection, and deaf to their complaints. Yet their complaints remain unanswered; their injuries are confirmed; and the only judge removeable at the pleasure of the crown, has been dismissed from his high office, for defending in parliament, the law and the constitution.

" We, therefore, venture once more to address ourselves to your Majesty, as to the father of your people; as to him who must be both able and willing to redress our grievances; and we repeat our application with the greater propriety, because we see the instruments of our wrongs, who have carried into execution the measures of which we complain, more particularly distinguished by your Majesty's royal bounty and favour.

" Under the same secret and malign influence, which through each successive administration has defeated every good, and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the House of Commons have deprived your people of their dearest rights.

" They have done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship money by Charles the first; or the dispensing power assumed by James the second. A deed, which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament, for the acts of the legislature itself can no more be valid without a legal House of Commons, than without a legal Prince upon the throne.

" Representatives of the people are essential to the making of laws, and there is a time when it is morally demonstrable, that men cease to be representatives; that time is now arrived: The present House of Commons do not represent the people.

" We owe to your Majesty, an obedience under the restrictions of the laws for the calling and duration of parliaments; and your Majesty owes

the freedom of election, now invades the declaration and bill of rights, and threatens to punish the subject for exercising a privilege, hitherto undisputed, of petitioning the crown. The grievances of the people are aggravated by in-

to us, that our representation, free from the force of arms or corruption, should be preserved to us in parliament. It was for this we successfully struggled under James the second; for this we seated, and have faithfully supported your Majesty's family on the throne: The people have been invariably uniform in their object, though the different mode of attack has called for a different defence.

"Under James the second, they complained that the sitting of parliament was interrupted, because it was not corruptly subservient to his designs: We complain now, that the sitting of this parliament is not interrupted, because it is corruptedly subservient to the designs of your Majesty's ministers. Had the parliament, under James the second, been as submissive to his commands, as the parliament is at this day to the dictates of a minister; instead of clamours for its meeting, the nation would have rung, as now, with outcries for its dissolution.

"The forms of the constitution, like those of religion, were not established for the form's sake, but for the substance; and we call GOD and men to witness, that as we do not owe our liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions, which places and pensions, and lucrative employments have invented; so neither will we be deprived of it by them; but as it was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved.

"Since, therefore, the misdeeds of your Majesty's ministers, in violating the freedom of election, and depraving the noble constitution of parliaments, are notorious, as well as subversive of the fundamental laws and liberties of this realm; and since your Majesty, both in honour and justice, is obliged inviolably to preserve them, according to the oath made to GOD and your subjects at your coronation: We your Majesty's remonstrants assure ourselves, that your Majesty will restore the constitutional government and quiet of your people, by dissolving this parliament, and removing those evil ministers for ever from your councils."

To which His Majesty returned the following answer:

"I shall always be ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints of my subjects; but it gives me great concern, to find that any of them should have been so far misled, as to offer me an address and remonstrance, the contents of which I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.

"I have ever made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, esteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people: with this view, I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers which the constitution

sults; their complaints not merely disregarded, but checked by authority; and every one of those acts, against which they remonstrated, confirmed by the King's decisive approbation. At such a moment, no honest man will remain silent or inac-

constitution has placed in other hands. It is only by persevering in such a conduct, that I can either discharge my own duty, or secure to my subjects the free enjoyment of those rights which my family were called to defend, and, while I act upon these principles, I shall have a right to expect, and I am confident I shall continue to receive, the steady and affectionate support of my people."

There was at the same time a declaration against the remonstrance, drawn up and subscribed by the aldermen on the ministerial side, and the following address to His Majesty was jointly presented by both Houses of Parliament.

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, presented to His Majesty on Friday the 23d day of March, 1770.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"WE your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, having taken into consideration the address lately presented to your Majesty under the title of 'The humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled,' together with the answer which your Majesty was pleased to make to the same; think ourselves indispensably obliged, upon this occasion, to express to your Majesty the extreme concern and indignation which we feel at finding that an application has been made to your Majesty, in terms so little corresponding with that grateful and affectionate respect which your Majesty is so justly intitled to from all your subjects, at the same time aspersing and calumniating one of the branches of the legislature, and expressly denying the legality of the present parliament, and the validity of its proceedings.

"To present petitions to the throne has at all times been the undoubted right of the subjects of this realm. The free enjoyment of that right was one of the many blessings restored by the revolution, and continued to us, in its fullest extent, under the princes of your Majesty's illustrious house: And as we are duly sensible of its value and importance, it is with the deepest concern that we now see the exercise of it so grossly perverted, by being applied to the purpose, not of preserving, but of overturning the constitution, and of propagating doctrines, which, if generally adopted, must be fatal to the peace of the kingdom, and which tend to the subversion of all lawful authority.

"Your Majesty, we acknowledge with gratitude, has ever shewn the most tender regard to the rights of your people, not only in the exercise
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tive. However distinguished by rank or property, in the rights of freedom we are all equal. As we are Englishmen, the least considerable man among us has an interest equal to the proudest nobleman, in the laws and constitution of his country, and is equally called upon to make a generous contribution in support of them;—whether it be the heart to conceive, the understanding to direct, or the hand to execute. It is a common cause, in which we are all interested, in which we should all be engaged. The man who deserts it at this alarm-

of your own power, but in your care to preserve from every degree of infringement or violation the powers intrusted to others. And we beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for the fresh proof you have now given us, of your determination to persevere in your adherence to the principles of the constitution.

“Permit us also to assure your Majesty, that it is with the highest satisfaction we see your Majesty expressing so just a confidence in your people. In whatever unjustifiable excesses some few misguided persons may in this instance have been seduced to join, your Majesty’s subjects in general are too sensible of what they owe both to your Majesty and to your illustrious family, ever to be capable of approaching your Majesty with any other sentiments than those of the most entire respect and affection; and they understand too well their own true interests to wish to loosen the bands of obedience to the laws, and of due subordination to lawful authority. We are therefore fully persuaded that your Majesty’s people, as well as your parliament, will reject with disdain every insidious suggestion of those ill-designing men, who are in reality undermining the public liberty, under the specious pretence of zeal for its preservation; and that your Majesty’s attention to maintain the liberties of your subjects inviolated, which you esteem your chief glory, will, upon every occasion, prove the sure means of strength to your Majesty, and secure to you that zealous and effectual support, which none but a free people can bestow.”

His Majesty’s Answer.

“My lords and gentlemen, I return you many thanks for this very loyal and dutiful address. It is with great satisfaction that I receive from my parliament so grateful an acknowledgment of my tender regard for the rights of my subjects. Be assured that I shall continue to adhere to the true principles of our excellent constitution; from which I cannot deviate without justly forfeiting the affections of a free people.”

The city in its corporate capacity, however, dissatisfied with His Majesty’s reply, and still more so with the notice which had been taken of its remonstrance in parliament, ventured to draw up and present another address and remonstrance, which was done on the ensuing May 23, and ran as follows:

ing crisis, is an enemy to his country, and, what I think of infinitely less importance, a traitor to his Sovereign. The subject, who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate, will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures. The city of Lon-

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ WHEN your Majesty's most faithful subjects, the citizens of London, whose loyalty and affection has been so often and so effectually proved and experienced by the illustrious house of Brunswick, are labouring under the weight of that displeasure, which your Majesty has been advised to lay upon them, in the answer given from the throne to their late humble application, we feel ourselves constrained with all humility to approach the royal father of his people.

“ Conscious, Sire, of the purest sentiments of veneration which they entertain for your Majesty's person, we are deeply concerned that what the law allows, and the constitution teaches, hath been misconstrued into disrespect to your Majesty, by the instruments of that influence which shakes the realm.

“ Perplexed and astonished as we are, by the awful sentence of censure, lately passed upon the citizens of London, in your Majesty's answer from the throne, we cannot, without surrendering all that is dear to Englishmen, forbear most humbly to supplicate, that your Majesty will deign to grant a more favourable interpretation to this dutiful, though persevering claim to our invaded birth-rights; nothing doubting, that the benignity of your Majesty's nature, will to our unspeakable comfort, at length break through all the secret and visible machinations, to which the city of London owes its late severe repulse, and that your kingly justice, and fatherly tenderness, will disclaim the malignant and pernicious advice which suggested the answer we deplore; an advice of most dangerous tendency, in as much, as thereby the exercise of the clearest rights of the subject, namely to petition the King for redress of grievances, to complain of the violation of the freedom of election, and to pray dissolution of parliament, to point out mal-practices in administration, and to urge the removal of evil ministers, hath, by the generality of one compendious word, been indiscriminately checked with reprimand; and your Majesty's afflicted citizens of London, have heard from the throne itself, that the contents of their humble address, remonstrance, and petition, laying their complaints and injuries at the feet of their Sovereign, cannot but be considered by your Majesty, as disrespectful to yourself, injurious to your parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.

“ Your Majesty cannot disapprove that we here assert the clearest principles of the constitution, against the insidious attempt of evil counsellors,

don have given an example, which, I doubt not, will be followed by the whole kingdom. The noble spirit of the metropolis is the life-blood of the state, collected at the heart: from that point it circulates, with health and vigour, through

to perplex, confound, and shake them. We are determined to abide by those rights and liberties, which our forefathers bravely vindicated at the ever memorable revolution, and which their sons will always resolutely defend: We therefore now renew, at the foot of the throne, our claim to the indispensable right of the subject, a full, free, and unmutilated parliament, legally chosen in all its members: A right, which this House of Commons have manifestly violated, depriving, at their will and pleasure, the county of Middlesex of one of its legal representatives, and arbitrarily nominating, as a knight of the shire, a person not elected by a majority of the freeholders. As the only constitutional means of reparation now left for the injured electors of Great Britain, we implore, with most urgent supplication, the dissolution of this present parliament, the removal of evil ministers, and the total extinction of that fatal influence which has caused such a national discontent. In the mean time, Sire, we offer our constant prayers to heaven, that your Majesty may reign, as kings can only reign, in and by the hearts of a loyal, dutiful, and free people."

His Majesty's Answer, delivered the 23d May, 1770.

"I should have been wanting to the public, as well as to myself, if I had not expressed my dissatisfaction at the late address.

"My sentiments on that subject continue the same, and I should ill deserve to be considered as the Father of my people, if I should suffer myself to be prevailed upon to make such an use of my prerogative, as I cannot but think inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom."

The Lord Mayor then addressed His Majesty in the following words:

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"WILL your Majesty be pleased so far to condescend as to permit the Mayor of your loyal city of London, to declare in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your Majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds. The declaration of that displeasure, has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, Sire, to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty has not in all your dominions any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your Majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown.

"We do, therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your Majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence, without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful
citizens,

every artery of the constitution. The time is come, when the body of the English people must assert their own cause: conscious of their strength, and animated by a sense of their duty, they will not surrender their birthright to ministers, parliaments, or kings.

The city of London have expressed their sentiments with freedom and firmness; they have spoken truth boldly; and, in whatever light their remonstrance may be represented by courtiers, I defy the most subtle lawyer in this country to point out a single instance, in which they have exceeded the truth. Even that assertion, which we are told is most offensive to parliament, in the theory of the English constitution, is strictly true. If any part of the representative body be not chosen by the people, that part vitiates and corrupts the whole. If there be a defect in the representation of the people, that power, which alone is equal to the making of laws in this country, is not complete, and the acts of parliament under that circumstance, are not the acts of a pure and entire legislature. I speak of the theory of our constitution; and whatever difficulties or inconveniences may attend the practice, I am ready to maintain, that, as far as the fact deviates from the principle, so far the practice is vicious and corrupt. I have not heard a question raised upon any other part of the remonstrance. That the principle, on which the Middlesex election was determined, is more pernicious in its effects, than either the levying of ship-money, by Charles the first, or the suspending power assumed by his son, will hardly be disputed by any man who understands or wishes

citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect at least of redress.

“ Permit me, Sire, farther to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your Majesty’s affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence in and regard for your people, is an enemy to your Majesty’s person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious revolution.”

Mr. Beckford was at this time Lord Mayor, and it is this reply which the corporation has had engraven beneath the statue erected to his memory at the west end of Guildhall. EDIT.

well to the English constitution. It is not an act of open violence done by the King, or any direct and palpable breach of the laws attempted by his minister, that can ever endanger the liberties of this country. Against such a King or minister the people would immediately take the alarm, and all parties unite to oppose him. The laws may be grossly violated in particular instances, without any direct attack upon the whole system. Facts of that kind stand alone; they are attributed to necessity, not defended upon principle. We can never be really in danger, until the forms of parliament are made use of to destroy the substance of our civil and political liberties;—until parliament itself betrays its trust, by contributing to establish new principles of government, and employing the very weapons committed to it by the collective body, to stab the constitution.

As for the terms of the remonstrance, I presume it will not be affirmed, by any person less polished than a gentleman usher, that this is a season for compliments. Our gracious King indeed is abundantly civil to himself. Instead of an answer to a petition, his majesty, very gracefully pronounces his own panegyric; and I confess, that, as far as his personal behaviour, or the royal purity of his intentions is concerned, the truth of those declarations, which the minister has drawn up for his master, cannot decently be disputed. In every other respect, I affirm, that they are absolutely unsupported, either in argument or fact. I must add too, that supposing the speech were otherwise unexceptionable, it is not a direct answer to the petition of the city. His Majesty is pleased to say, that he is always ready to receive the requests of his subjects; yet the sheriffs were twice sent back with an excuse, and it was certainly debated in council whether or no the magistrates of the city of London should be admitted to an audience. Whether the remonstrance be or be not injurious to parliament, is the very question between the parliament and the people, and such a question as cannot be decided by the assertion of a third party, however respectable. That the petitioning for a dissolution of parliament is irreconcilable with the principles of the constitution is a new doctrine. His Majesty perhaps has not been in-

formed, that the House of Commons themselves have, by a formal resolution, admitted it to be the right of the subject. His Majesty proceeds to assure us that he has made the laws the rule of his conduct.—Was it in ordering or permitting his ministers to apprehend Mr. Wilkes by a general warrant?—Was it in suffering his ministers to revive the obsolete maxim of *nullum tempus* to rob the Duke of Portland of his property, and thereby give a decisive turn to a county election*? Was it in erecting a chamber consultation of surgeons, with authority to examine into and supersede the legal verdict of a jury†? Or did his Majesty consult the laws of this country, when he permitted his secretary of state to declare, that whenever the civil magistrate is trifled with, a military force must be sent for, *without the delay of a moment*, and effectually employed‡? Or was it in the barbarous exactness with which this illegal, inhuman doctrine was carried into execution?—If his Majesty had recollected these facts,

* See JUNIUS, Letters LVII. and LXVII. and notes. EDIT.

† See note in p. 70, of this Vol. EDIT.

‡ Previous to the riot which took place May 10, 1768, as noticed in Miscellaneous Letters, No. xxiv. the following letter was issued by Lord Barrington, to which Mr. Wilkes wrote an introduction, as noticed in Letter xi. p. 83, of this Vol. an act which formed a part of the offence for which that gentleman was expelled the House of Commons. Curious as this letter is, it has not been preserved even in the Annual Register.

Copy.

SIR,

St. James's, April 17, 1768.

Having already signified the King's pleasure to the Lord Lieutenant of the County in which you reside, with regard to the measures to be taken in general for preserving the peace, at a time that so very riotous a disposition has discovered itself among the common people, I make no doubt but that either some steps have, or will immediately be taken by him on that head; and, I take it for granted, that as chairman of the Sessions, you will meet the gentlemen, who act in the commission of the peace for the Borough of Southwark and East Hundred of Brixton, to consult together, and fix upon some plan for securing the public tranquillity against any mischiefs which may happen, should the same indecent spirit of tumult and disorder which has appeared in the city and liberties of Westminster, spread itself to those parts which are within the line of your duty, and though I am persuaded it is unnecessary to suggest to you, or the gentlemen who will meet you, any part of your duty on such an occasion, yet, after the recent alarming instances of riot and confusion, I can't help apprizing you, that much will depend upon the preventive measures which you shall, in conjunction with the other gentlemen in the

I think he would never have said, at least with any reference to the measures of his government, that he had made the laws the rule of his conduct. To talk of preserving the affections, or relying on the support of his subjects, while he continues to act upon these principles, is indeed paying a compliment to their loyalty, which I hope they have too much spirit and understanding to deserve.

His Majesty, we are told, is not only punctual in the performance of his own duty, but careful not to assume any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. Admitting this last assertion to be strictly true, it is no way to the purpose. The city of London have not desired the King to assume a power placed in other hands. If they had, I should hope to see the person who dared to present such a petition immediately impeached*. They solicit their

the commission of the peace, take, upon your meeting, and much is expected from the vigilance and activity with which such measures will be carried into execution. When I inform you, that every possible precaution is taken to support the dignity of your office; that upon application from the civil magistrate at the Tower, the Savoy, or the War Office, he will find a military force ready to march to his assistance, and to act according as he shall find it expedient and necessary; I need not add, that if the public peace is not preserved, and if any riotous proceedings, which may happen, are not suppressed, the blame will, most probably, be imputed to a want of prudent and spirited conduct in the civil magistrate. As I have no reason to doubt your caution and discretion in not calling for troops till they are wanted; so, on the other hand, I hope you will not delay a moment calling for their aid, and making use of them effectually where there is occasion; that occasion always presents itself, when the civil power is trifled with and insulted, nor can a military force ever be employed to a more constitutional purpose, than in support of the authority and dignity of magistracy. BARRINGTON.

P. S. I have, for the greater caution, sent copies of this letter to the members for the Borough, and Mr. Pownall. If you should have received no directions from Lord Onslow for a meeting, you will consider this as sufficient authority for that purpose.

Daniel Ponton, Esq. Chairman of the
Quarter Sessions, Lambeth.

EDIT.

* "When his Majesty had done reading his speech, the Lord Mayor, &c. had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand; after which, as they were withdrawing, his Majesty instantly turned round to his courtiers, and burst out a laughing.

"*Nero fiddled, whilst Rome was burning.*" JOHN HORNE. AUTHOR.
Mr.

Sovereign to exert that constitutional authority, which the laws have vested in him, for the benefit of his subjects. They call upon him to make use of his lawful prerogative in a case, which our laws evidently supposed might happen, since they have provided for it by trusting the Sovereign with a discretionary power to dissolve the parliament. This request will, I am confident, be supported by remonstrances from all parts of the kingdom. His Majesty will find at last, that this is the sense of his people, and that it is not his interest to support either ministry or parliament, at the hazard of a breach with the collective body of his subjects.—That he is the King of a free people, is indeed his greatest glory. That he may long continue the King of a free people, is the second wish that animates my heart. The first is, THAT THE PEOPLE MAY BE FREE*.

JUNIUS.

Mr. Horne having furnished the printer of the Public Advertiser with a detail of the proceedings on presenting the remonstrance on the 14th of March, concluded it with the whole of the words quoted by JUNIUS as the foregoing note, for which a prosecution was commenced against the Printer, but which was not persevered in.

Mr. Horne also sent to the Printer the particulars which occurred on presenting the Remonstrance of the 14th of May at St. James's, to which he added as follows:—

N. B. The writer of the above account having given great offence to some persons by inserting in a former paper, that—*Nero fiddled whilst Rome was burning*—and an Information having been filed by the Attorney General against the Printer in consequence, takes this opportunity to declare, that it was not his intention to falsify an historical fact, or to give offence to better memories; he hopes therefore it will be admitted as a recompence, if he now declares that Nero *did not* fiddle whilst Rome was burning. EDIT.

* As the Letters of JUNIUS have been by some attributed to Mr. Dunning, and as the beginning of the third paragraph of that gentleman's answer to the Chamberlain of London, on being presented with the freedom of the city, has a striking resemblance to the structure and sentiments with which this letter concludes, the reader will excuse its insertion in this place, though it has no reference to the subject of the letter itself.

“Mr. Chamberlain,

“I am to request the favour of you to represent me to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, as duly sensible of the great, but, I must add, unmerited honour they have done me; for surely, Sir, there is little merit in acting on one's own opinions, and I cannot, with a safe conscience, pretend to any other.

“Convinced

LETTER XXXVIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

3 April, 1770.

IN my last letter I offered you my opinion of the truth and propriety of his Majesty's answer to the city of London, considering it merely as the speech of a minister, drawn up in his own defence, and delivered, as usual, by the chief magistrate. I would separate as much as possible, the King's personal character and behaviour from the acts of the present government. I wish it to be understood that his Majesty had in effect no more concern in the substance of what he said, than Sir James Hodges* had in the remonstrance, and that as Sir James, in virtue of his office, was obliged to speak the sentiments of the people, his Majesty might think himself bound, by the same official obligation, to give a graceful utterance to the sentiments of his minister. The cold formality of a well repeated lesson is widely distant from the animated expression of the heart.

This distinction, however, is only true with respect to the

"Convinced as I am, that our happy constitution has given us the most perfect system of government the world has ever seen, and that it is therefore our common interest and duty to oppose every practice, and combat every principle that tends to impair it: Any other conduct than that which the City of London has been pleased to distinguish by its approbation, must in my own judgment have rendered me equally unworthy of the office I had then the honour to hold through his Majesty's favour, and of the trust reposed in me as one of the representatives of the people.

"To discharge faithfully the duties of whatever situation we are placed in is among the first objects of honest ambition. To be thought to have done so, I consider as a second. Consequently I cannot but feel a high degree of satisfaction in this testimony of the good opinion of so respectable a body as the citizens of London; and it is no inconsiderable addition to that satisfaction, that it gives me a nearer relation to men who have been usually among the foremost to assert and maintain those legal and constitutional rights which are essential to the general interests of the community.

"I have nothing to add, Sir, but my acknowledgements to you for the obliging expressions you have used in executing your commission.

March 27, 1771.

J. DUNNING." EDIT.

* Town Clerk to the city of London, who signed for the corporation the city petition and remonstrance. EDIT.

measure itself. The consequences of it reach beyond the minister, and materially affect his Majesty's honour. In their own nature they are formidable enough to alarm a man of prudence, and disgraceful enough to afflict a man of spirit. A subject, whose sincere attachment to his Majesty's person and family is founded upon rational principles, will not, in the present conjuncture, be scrupulous of alarming, or even of afflicting his Sovereign. I know there is another sort of loyalty, of which his Majesty has had plentiful experience. When the loyalty of Tories, Jacobites, and Scotchmen, has once taken possession of an unhappy Prince, it seldom leaves him without accomplishing his destruction. When the poison of their doctrines has tainted the natural benevolence of his disposition, when their insidious counsels have corrupted the *stamina* of his government, what antidote can restore him to his political health and honour, but the firm sincerity of his English subjects?

It has not been usual in this country, at least since the days of Charles the first, to see the Sovereign personally at variance, or engaged in a direct altercation with his subjects. Acts of grace and indulgence are wisely appropriated to him, and should constantly be performed by himself. He never should appear but in an amiable light to his subjects. Even in France, as long as any ideas of a limited monarchy were thought worth preserving, it was a maxim, that no man should leave the royal presence discontented. They have lost or renounced the moderate principles of their government, and now, when their parliaments venture to remonstrate, the tyrant comes forward, and answers absolutely for himself. The spirit of their present constitution requires that the King should be feared, and the principle, I believe, is tolerably supported by the fact. But, in *our* political system, the theory is at variance with the practice, for the King should be beloved. Measures of greater severity may, indeed, in some circumstances, be necessary; but the minister who advises, should take the execution and odium of them entirely upon himself. He not only betrays his master, but violates the spirit of the English constitution, when he exposes the chief magistrate to the personal hatred or contempt of his subjects.

When we speak of the firmness of government, we mean an uniform system of measures, deliberately adopted, and resolutely maintained by the servants of the crown, not a peevish asperity in the language or behaviour of the Sovereign. The government of a weak, irresolute monarch may be wise, moderate, and firm;—that of an obstinate, capricious prince, on the contrary, may be feeble, undetermined and relaxed. The reputation of public measures depends upon the minister, who is responsible, not upon the King, whose private opinions are not supposed to have any weight against the advice of his counsel, whose personal authority should therefore never be interposed in public affairs.—This, I believe, is true, constitutional doctrine. But, for a moment, let us suppose it false. Let it be taken for granted, that an occasion may arise, in which a King of England shall be compelled to take upon himself the ungrateful office of rejecting the petitions, and censuring the conduct of his subjects; and let the City remonstrance be supposed to have created so extraordinary an occasion. On this principle, which I presume no friend of administration will dispute, let the wisdom and spirit of the ministry be examined. They advise the King to hazard his dignity, by a positive declaration of his own sentiments;—they suggest to him a language full of severity and reproach. What follows? When his Majesty had taken so decisive a part in support of his ministry and parliament, he had a right to expect from *them* a reciprocal demonstration of firmness in their own cause, and of zeal for *his* honour. He had reason to expect (and such, I doubt not, were the blustering promises of Lord North) that the persons, whom he had been advised to charge with having failed in their respect to him, with having injured parliament, and violated the principles of the constitution, should not have been permitted to escape without some severe marks of the displeasure and vengeance of parliament. As the matter stands, the minister, after placing his Sovereign in the most unfavourable light to his subjects, and after attempting to fix the ridicule and odium of his own precipitate measures upon the royal character, leaves him a solitary figure upon the scene, to recall, if he can, or to compensate, by future

compliances, for one unhappy demonstration of ill-supported firmness, and ineffectual resentment. As a man of spirit, his Majesty cannot but be sensible, that the lofty terms in which he was persuaded to reprimand the city, when united with the silly conclusion of the business, resemble the pomp of a mock-tragedy, where the most pathetic sentiments, and even the sufferings of the hero are calculated for derision.

Such has been the boasted firmness and consistency of a minister*, whose appearance in the House of Commons was thought essential to the King's service;—whose presence was to influence every division:—who had a voice to persuade, an eye to penetrate, a gesture to command. The reputation of these great qualities has been fatal to his friends. The little dignity of Mr. Ellis has been committed. The mine was sunk;—combustibles provided, and Welbore Ellis, the Guy Faux of the fable, waited only for the signal of command. All of a sudden the country gentlemen discover how grossly they have been deceived;—the minister's heart fails him, the grand plot is defeated in a moment, and poor Mr. Ellis and his motion taken into custody. From the event of Friday last†, one would imagine, that some fatality hung over this gentleman. Whether he makes or suppresses a motion, he is equally sure of his disgrace. But the complexion of the times will suffer no man to be vice-treasurer of Ireland with impunity‡.

* Lord North. This graceful minister is oddly constructed. His tongue is a little too big for his mouth, and his eyes a great deal too big for their sockets. Every part of his person sets natural proportion at defiance. At this present writing, his head is supposed to be much too heavy for his shoulders.

† It was at first intended by the cabinet that the house should be requested to unite with his Majesty in punishing the lord mayor and sheriffs for the insult offered to the Sovereign by their petition and remonstrance; and a vote to this effect was to have been moved by Mr. Ellis, afterwards Lord Mendip, and in the author's own note called Mannikin, on account of his diminutive stature; subsequently determined to have recourse to less violent measures; and the conduct of the metropolitan corporation was in consequence, merely censured by a vote of the house, and the preceding address to his Majesty from both houses, apprising him of such censure: a measure which was followed by another address from the city, as noticed in note to p. 221, of this volume. EDIT.

‡ About this time the courtiers talked of nothing but a bill of pains and penalties

I do not mean to express the smallest anxiety for the minister's reputation. He acts separately for himself, and the most shameful inconsistency may perhaps be no disgrace to him. But when the Sovereign, who represents the majesty of the state, appears in person, his dignity should be supported. The occasion should be important;—the plan well considered;—the execution steady and consistent. My zeal for his Majesty's real honour compels me to assert, that it has been too much the system of the present reign, to introduce him personally, either to act for, or to defend his servants. They persuade him to do what is properly *their* business, and desert him in the midst of it*. Yet this is an inconvenience, to which he must for ever be exposed, while he adheres to a ministry divided among themselves, or unequal in credit and ability to the great task they have undertaken. Instead of reserving the interposition of the royal personage, as the last resource of government, their weakness obliges them to apply it to every ordinary occasion, and to render it cheap and common in the opinion of the people. Instead of supporting their master, they look to *him* for support; and for the emolument of remaining one day more in office, care not how much his sacred character is prostituted and dishonoured.

If I thought it possible for this paper to reach the closet,

penalties against the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, or impeachment at the least. Little *Mannikin Ellis* told the King that, if the business were left to his management, he would engage to do wonders. It was thought very odd that a motion of so much importance should be entrusted to the most contemptible little piece of machinery in the whole kingdom. His honest zeal however was disappointed. The minister took fright, and at the very instant that little Ellis was going to open, sent him an order to sit down. All their magnanimous threats ended in a ridiculous vote of censure, and a still more ridiculous address to the King. This shameful desertion so afflicted the generous mind of George the third, that he was obliged to live upon potatoes for three weeks, to keep off a malignant fever.—Poor man!—*quis talia fando temperet a lacrymis!* AUTHOR.

See Private Letter, No. 33. EDIT.

* After a certain person had succeeded in cajoling Mr. Yorke, he told the Duke of Grafton, with a witty smile, "My Lord, you may kill the next Percy yourself."—N. B. He had but that instant wiped the tears away, which overcame Mr. Yorke.

I would venture to appeal at once to his Majesty's judgment. I would ask him, but in the most respectful terms, "As you are a young man, Sir, who ought to have a life of happiness in prospect,—as you are a husband,—as you are a father, [your filial duties I own have been religiously performed] is it *bona fide* for your interest or your honour to sacrifice your domestic tranquillity, and to live in a perpetual disagreement with your people, merely to preserve such a chain of beings as North, Barrington, Weymouth, Gower, Ellis, Onslow, Rigby, Jerry Dyson, and Sandwich? Their very names are a satire upon all government, and I defy the gravest of your chaplains to read the catalogue without laughing."

For my own part, Sir, I have always considered addresses from parliament as a fashionable, unmeaning formality. Usurpers, idiots, and tyrants have been successively complimented with almost the same professions of duty and affection. But let us suppose them to mean exactly what they profess. The consequences deserve to be considered. Either the Sovereign is a man of high spirit and dangerous ambition, ready to take advantage of the treachery of his parliament, ready to accept of the surrender they make him of the public liberty;—or he is a mild, undesigning prince, who, provided they indulge him with a little state and pageantry, would of himself intend no mischief. On the first supposition, it must soon be decided by the sword, whether the constitution should be lost or preserved. On the second, a prince no way qualified for the execution of a great and hazardous enterprize, and without any determined object in view, may nevertheless be driven into such desperate measures, as may lead directly to his ruin, or disgrace himself by a shameful fluctuation between the extremes of violence at one moment, and timidity at another. The minister perhaps may have reason to be satisfied with the success of the present hour, and with the profits of his employment. He is the tenant of the day, and has no interest in the inheritance. The Sovereign himself is bound by other obligations, and ought to look forward to a superior, a permanent interest. His paternal tenderness should remind him, how many hos-

tages he has given to society. The ties of nature come powerfully in aid of oaths and protestations. The father, who considers his own precarious state of health, and the possible hazard of a long minority, will wish to see the family estate free and unincumbered*. What is the dignity of the crown, though it were really maintained;—what is the honour of parliament, supposing it could exist without any foundation of integrity and justice;—or what is the vain reputation of firmness, even if the scheme of government were uniform and consistent, compared with the heart-felt affections of the people, with the happiness and security of the royal family, or even with the grateful acclamations of the populace! Whatever style of contempt may be adopted by ministers or parliaments, no man sincerely despises the voice of the English nation. The House of Commons are only interpreters, whose duty it is to convey the sense of the people faithfully to the crown. If the interpretation be false or imperfect, the constituent powers are called upon to deliver their own sentiments. Their speech is rude, but intelligible;—their gestures fierce, but full of explanation. Perplexed by sophistries, their honest eloquence rises into action. The first appeal was to the integrity of their representatives;—the second to the King's justice;—the last argument of the people, whenever they have recourse to it, will carry more perhaps than persuasion to parliament, or supplication to the throne.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXXIX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

28 May, 1770.

WHILE parliament was sitting, it would neither have been safe, nor perhaps quite regular, to offer any opinion to the public, upon the justice or wisdom of their proceedings. To

* Every true friend of the house of Brunswick sees with affliction, how rapidly some of the principal branches of the family have dropped off.

pronounce fairly upon their conduct, it was necessary to wait until we could consider, in one view, the beginning, progress, and conclusion of their deliberations. The cause of the public was undertaken and supported by men, whose abilities and united authority, to say nothing of the advantageous ground they stood on, might well be thought sufficient to determine a popular question in favour of the people. Neither was the House of Commons so absolutely engaged in defence of the ministry, or even of their own resolutions, but that *they* might have paid some decent regard to the known disposition of their constituents, and, without any dishonour to their firmness, might have retracted an opinion too hastily adopted, when they saw the alarm it had created, and how strongly it was opposed by the general sense of the nation. The ministry too would have consulted their own immediate interest, in making some concession satisfactory to the moderate part of the people. Without touching the fact, they might have consented to guard against, or give up the dangerous principle, on which it was established. In this state of things, I think it was highly improbable at the beginning of the session, that the complaints of the people upon a matter, which, in *their* apprehension at least, immediately affected the life of the constitution, would be treated with as much contempt by their own representatives, and by the House of Lords, as they had been by the other branch of the legislature. Despairing of their integrity, we had a right to expect something from their prudence, and something from their fears. The Duke of Grafton certainly did not foresee to what an extent the corruption of a parliament might be carried. He thought, perhaps, that there still was some portion of shame or virtue left in the majority of the House of Commons, or that there was a line in public prostitution, beyond which they would scruple to proceed. Had the young man been a little more practised in the world, or had he ventured to measure the characters of other men by his own, he would not have been so easily discouraged.

The prorogation of parliament naturally calls upon us to

review their proceedings, and to consider the condition in which they have left the kingdom. I do not question but they have done what is usually called the King's business, much to his Majesty's satisfaction*. We have only to lament, that, in consequence of a system introduced or revived in the present reign, this kind of merit should be very consistent with the neglect of every duty they owe to the nation. The interval between the opening of the last and the close of the former session was longer than usual†. Whatever were the views of the minister, in deferring the meeting of parliament, sufficient time was certainly given to every member of the House of Commons, to look back upon the steps he had taken, and the consequences they had produced. The zeal of party, the violence of personal animosities, and the heat of contention had leisure to subside. From that period, whatever resolution they took was deliberate and premeditated. In the preceding session, the dependents of the ministry had affected to believe, that the final determination of the question would have satisfied the nation, or at least put a stop to their complaints; as if the certainty of an evil could diminish the sense of it, or the nature of injustice could be altered by decision. But they found the people of England were in a temper very distant from submission; and, although it was contended that the House of Commons could not themselves reverse a resolution, which had the force and effect of a judicial sentence, there were other constitutional expedients, which would have given a security against any similar attempts for the future. The general proposition, in which the whole country had an interest, might have been reduced to a particular fact, in which Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Luttrell would alone have been concerned. The House of Lords might interpose;—the King might dissolve the parliament;—or, if every other resource failed, there still lay a grand con-

* "The temper with which you have conducted all your proceedings, has given me great satisfaction." King's speech on closing the session of Parliament, May 19, 1770. EDIT.

† There was no autumnal session this year. Parliament did not meet till January 9, 1769—70. EDIT.

stitutional writ of error in behalf of the people, from the decision of one court to the wisdom of the whole legislature. Every one of these remedies has been successively attempted. The people performed *their* part with dignity, spirit, and perseverance. For many months his Majesty heard nothing from his subjects but the language of complaint and resentment;—unhappily for this country, it was the daily triumph of his courtiers that he heard it with an indifference approaching to contempt.

The House of Commons having assumed a power unknown to the constitution, were determined not merely to support it in the single instance in question, but to maintain the doctrine in its utmost extent, and to establish the fact as a precedent in law, to be applied in whatever manner his Majesty's servants should hereafter think fit. Their proceedings upon this occasion are a strong proof that a decision, in the first instance illegal and unjust, can only be supported by a continuation of falsehood and injustice. To support their former resolutions, they were obliged to violate some of the best known and established rules of the House. In one instance they went so far as to declare, in open defiance of truth and common sense, that it was not the rule of the House to divide a complicated question, at the request of a member*. But after trampling upon the laws of

* This extravagant resolution appears in the votes of the house; but, in the minutes of the committees, the instances of resolutions contrary to law and truth, or of refusals to acknowledge law and truth when proposed to them, are innumerable. AUTHOR.

The following is a more particular explanation of the fact alluded to:

The house having on the 30th of January, 1770, resolved itself into a committee on the state of the nation, the ensuing declaration was proposed, "That in the exercise of its jurisdiction, the house ought to judge of elections by the law of the land, and by the custom of parliament, which is part of that law." This being the first of a string of resolutions that were to lead to a condemnation of the principles on which the determination of the Middlesex election had taken place, it was contended on the part of the ministry that according to the usage of the house, the entire series could not be divided; to which the speaker having assented, the ministry next moved that the whole of the intended resolutions, except the first, should be omitted, and that the following amendment should be added to it:—"And that the judgment of this house in the case of John Wilkes

the land, it was not wonderful that they should treat the private regulations of their own assembly with equal disregard. The speaker, being young in office, began with pretending ignorance, and ended with deciding for the ministry. We were not surprized at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed at his own baseness*, and every man was astonished†.

The interest of the public was vigorously supported in the House of Lords. Their right to defend the constitution against any encroachment of the other estates, and the necessity of exerting it at this period, was urged to them with every argument, that could be supposed to influence the heart or the understanding. But it soon appeared, that they had already taken their part, and were determined to support the House of Commons, not only at the expence of truth and decency, but even by a surrender of their own most important rights. Instead of performing that duty which the constitution expects from them, in return for the dignity and independence of their station, in return for the hereditary share it has given them in the legislature, the majority of them made common cause with the other house in oppress-

Wilkes was agreeable to the law of the land, and fully authorized by the practice of parliament." This was carried by 224 to 180. EDIT.

* Sir Fletcher Norton was now speaker of the House of Commons. He had commenced his political career as a violent Whig: but for some time past had exhibited the most complete tergiversation, and had been as warm in the cause of Toryism, as the warmest of its oldest espousers. He was elected to the chair January 22, 1770, on the resignation of Sir John Cust, through ill health, and who died on the same day that Sir Fletcher succeeded him. EDIT.

† When the King first made it a measure of his government to destroy Mr. Wilkes, and when for this purpose it was necessary to run down privilege, Sir Fletcher Norton, with his usual prostituted effrontery, assured the House of Commons, that he should regard one of their votes, no more than a resolution of so many drunken porters. This is the very lawyer, whom Ben Jonson describes in the following lines:

" Gives forked counsel; takes provoking gold,
On either hand, and puts it up.
So wise, so grave, of so perplex'd a tongue,
And loud withal, that would not wag, nor scarce
Lie still without a fee."

ing the people, and established another doctrine as false in itself, and if possible more pernicious to the constitution, than that on which the Middlesex election was determined. By resolving "that they had no right to impeach a judgment of the House of Commons in any case whatsoever, where that house has a competent jurisdiction,"* they in effect gave up that constitutional check and reciprocal controul of one branch of the legislature over the other, which is perhaps the greatest and most important object provided for by the division of the whole legislative power into three estates; and now, let the judicial decisions of the House of Commons be ever so extravagant, let their declarations of the law be ever so flagrantly false, arbitrary, and oppressive to the subject, the House of Lords have imposed a slavish silence upon themselves;—they cannot interpose,—they cannot protect the subject,—they cannot defend the laws of their country. A concession so extraordinary in itself, so contradictory to the principles of their own institution, cannot but alarm the most unsuspecting mind. We may well conclude, that the Lords would hardly have yielded so much to the other house, without the certainty of a compensation, which can only be made to them at the expense of the people. The arbitrary power they have assumed of imposing fines and committing, during pleasure, will now be exercised in its full extent†. The House of Commons are too much in their debt to question or inter-

* A motion similar to that recited in the note to p. 238, was made by the Marquis of Rockingham, in the House of Lords, declaring "That the law of the land and the established customs of parliament were the sole rule of determination in all cases of election," which having been lost, was met by one to the purport of that before quoted, which was carried by a large majority; in consequence of which two most strong and able protests were entered upon the journals of the house, which were signed by no less than forty-two peers. In the last of these, the protesting Lords pledged themselves to the public, that they would avail themselves, as far as in them lay, of every right and every power with which the constitution had armed them for the good of the whole, in order to obtain full relief in behalf of the injured electors of Great Britain. EDIT.

† The man who resists and overcomes this iniquitous power, assumed by the Lords, must be supported by the whole people. We have the laws of our side, and want nothing but an intrepid leader. When such a man stands forth, let the nation look to it. It is not *his* cause, but our own.

rupt their proceedings. The crown too, we may be well assured, will lose nothing in this new distribution of power. After declaring, that to petition for a dissolution of parliament is irreconcilable with the principles of the constitution*, his Majesty has reason to expect that some extraordinary compliment will be returned to the royal prerogative. The three branches of the legislature seem to treat their separate rights and interests as the Roman Triumvirs did their friends. They reciprocally sacrifice them to the animosities of each other, and establish a detestable union among themselves, upon the ruin of the laws and liberty of the commonwealth.

Through the whole proceedings of the House of Commons in this session, there is an apparent, a palpable consciousness of guilt, which has prevented their daring to assert their own dignity, where it has been immediately and grossly attacked. In the course of doctor Musgrave's examination, he said every thing that can be conceived mortifying to individuals, or offensive to the house. They voted his information frivolous, but they were awed by his firmness and integrity, and sunk under it†. The terms, in which the sale of a patent to Mr. Hine were communicated to the public‡, naturally called for a parliamentary inquiry. The integrity of the House of Commons was directly impeached; but they had not courage to move in their own vindication, because the inquiry would have been fatal to colonel Burgoyne, and the Duke of Grafton. When Sir George Saville branded them with the name of traitors to their constituents, when the lord mayor, the sheriffs, and Mr. Trecothick, expressly avowed and maintained every part of the city remonstrance, why did they tamely submit to be insulted? Why

* See Editor's note to Letter xxxvii. p. 219 of this vol. EDIT.

† The examination of this firm, honest man, is printed for *Almon*. The reader will find it a most curious, and a most interesting tract. Doctor Musgrave, with no other support but truth, and his own firmness, resisted, and overcame the whole House of Commons. AUTHOR.

For a further account of the transaction referred to, see Editor's note to JUNIUS, No. xxiii. p. 145 of this vol. EDIT.

‡ See JUNIUS, Letter xxxiii. EDIT.

did they not immediately expel those refractory members? Conscious of the motives, on which they had acted, they prudently preferred infamy to danger, and were better prepared to meet the contempt, than to rouse the indignation of the whole people. Had they expelled those five members*, the consequences of the new doctrine of incapacitation would have come immediately home to every man. The truth of it would then have been fairly tried, without any reference to Mr. Wilkes's private character, or the dignity of the house, or the obstinacy of one particular county. These topics, I know, have had their weight with men, who affecting a character of moderation, in reality consult nothing but their own immediate ease;—who are weak enough to acquiesce under a flagrant violation of the laws, when it does not directly touch themselves, and care not what injustice is practised upon a man, whose moral character they piously think themselves obliged to condemn. In any other circumstances, the House of Commons must have forfeited all credit and dignity, if, after such gross provocation, they had permitted those five gentlemen to sit any longer among them. We should then have seen and felt the operation of a precedent, which is represented to be perfectly barren and harmless. But there is a set of men in this country, whose understandings measure the violation of law, by the magnitude of the instance, not by the important consequences, which flow directly from the principle, and the minister, I presume, did not think it safe to quicken their apprehension too soon. Had Mr. Hampden reasoned and acted like the moderate men of these days, instead of hazarding his whole fortune in a law-suit with the crown, he would have quietly paid the twenty shillings demanded of him,—the Stuart family would probably have continued upon the throne, and, at this moment, the imposition of ship-money would have been an acknowledged prerogative of the crown.

What then has been the business of the session, after voting the supplies, and confirming the determination of the

* The five members alluded to are Sir George Saville, Mr. Beckford, Mr. Townshend, Mr. Sawbridge, and Mr. Trecothick. EDIT.

Middlesex election? The extraordinary prorogation of the Irish parliament*, and the just discontents of that kingdom, have been passed by without notice. Neither the general situation of our colonies, nor that particular distress which forced the inhabitants of Boston to take up arms in their defence, have been thought worthy of a moment's consideration†. In the repeal of those acts, which were most offensive to America, the parliament have done every thing, but remove the offence. They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously taken care to preserve the contention. It is not pretended that the continuance of the tea duty is to produce any direct benefit whatsoever to the mother country. What is it then but an odious, unprofitable exertion of a specula-

* A law had lately passed in the Irish legislature, rendering the Irish parliaments octennial:—prior to this period, they had been of longer duration, and it was against the will of the court that the law was enacted. The parliament that passed it was prorogued immediately afterwards, and then dissolved, under the hope of a more tractable parliament in future. The minister, however, was deceived: for the new parliament objected, shortly after its meeting, to passing the proposed money-bill, in consequence of its having originated in the Privy-council, instead of in the House of Commons. Lord Townshend, the lord-lieutenant, on December 2, entered a protest on the journals of the Upper House against the rejection of this bill; and intended to have done the same on the journals of the House of Commons; but the latter would not suffer him. EDIT.

† The different schemes devised for making the colonies amenable to the legislature of Great Britain, are glanced at in the note to JUNIUS, Letter XII. p. 92, of this vol. After the repeal of the stamp act, it was tried whether the Americans would submit to certain custom-house duties, as upon glass, red-lead, tea, &c. But it was the *principle* itself that was obnoxious to the Americans: and hence this attempt was as strenuously resisted as the former. These latter duties were in consequence all relinquished, excepting that on *tea*. The Americans, however, would not submit to this modification, which as much infringed upon their principle, as if no part whatever had been relinquished: government nevertheless insisted upon retaining this impost, and the result is well known. Yet hostilities may be said to have commenced in the first instance at Boston, from a private dispute between two or three soldiers quartered there, and a party of rope-makers. The soldiers in this quarrel were joined by their comrades and even by their officers, and the rope-makers by the inhabitants of the town: in the scuffle that ensued, the officers were struck, the soldiers fired, and several persons in the mob were killed or wounded. Captain Preston, the commanding officer, was afterwards tried but acquitted. EDIT.

tive right, and fixing a badge of slavery upon the Americans, without service to their masters? But it has pleased God to give us a ministry and a parliament, who are neither to be persuaded by argument, nor instructed by experience.

Lord North, I presume, will not claim any extraordinary merit from any thing he has done this year in the improvement or application of the revenue. A great operation, directed to an important object, though it should fail of success, marks the genius and elevates the character of a minister. A poor contracted understanding deals in little schemes, which dishonour him if they fail, and do him no credit when they succeed. Lord North had fortunately the means in his possession of reducing all the four per cents at once*. The failure of his first enterprize in finance is not half so disgraceful to his reputation as a minister, as the enterprize itself is injurious to the public. Instead of striking one decisive blow, which would have cleared the market at once, upon terms proportioned to the price of the four per cents

* The stock denominated three per cents, had arisen from a loan of two millions raised by government in the 29th of Geo. II. for which a lottery and redeemable annuities at three pounds ten shillings per cent. had been granted and secured. Of the annuities one quarter had been paid off, and the sinking fund, which was charged with the remainder, was at this time so fully capable of liquidating it, that a notice to this effect had been given by an order of the House of Commons, dated April 26, 1770.

In consequence of this flourishing state of the three per cents, into which almost every one was buying, the four per cents had been much forsaken, and had sunk below their level. Lord North, by a small bonus, might have induced all the holders of this stock to have transferred it into three per cents instead of receiving four, which would have been a great relief to the public debt; but, though the minister was open to this conviction, he went to work with a timid hand, and took so much time to complete what he did intend, as to forfeit every advantage he might at first have derived. Instead of making a proposal of this kind to embrace the *whole* of the four per cents, he proposed to convert only two millions and a quarter of them into three per cents, and that the bonus should be a lottery for five hundred thousand pounds, divided into fifty thousand tickets, of which every holder of a hundred pounds capital should be intitled, for this supposed difference of fourteen pounds sterling, to two of such lottery tickets. In the prospect of this scheme the four per cents began to rise at the expence of the three per cents, and the object, so far as regarded pecuniary advantage, was completely frustrated. EDIT.

six weeks ago, he has tampered with a pitiful portion of a commodity, which ought never to have been touched but in gross;—he has given notice to the holders of that stock, of a design formed by government to prevail upon them to surrender it by degrees, consequently has warned them to hold up and enhance the price;—so that the plan of reducing the four per cents must either be dropped entirely, or continued with an increasing disadvantage to the public. The minister's sagacity has served to raise the value of the thing he means to purchase, and to sink that of the three per cents, which it is his purpose to sell. In effect, he has contrived to make it the interest of the proprietor of four per cents to sell out and buy three per cents in the market, rather than subscribe his stock upon any terms, that can possibly be offered by government.

The state of the nation leads us naturally to consider the situation of the King. The prorogation of parliament has the effect of a temporary dissolution. The odium of measures adopted by the collective body sits lightly upon the separate members, who composed it. They retire into summer quarters, and rest from the disgraceful labours of the campaign. But as for the Sovereign, *it is not so with him.* HE has a permanent existence in this country; HE cannot withdraw himself from the complaints, the discontents, the reproaches of his subjects. They pursue him to his retirement, and invade his domestic happiness, when no address can be obtained from an obsequious parliament to encourage or console him. In other times, the interest of the King and people of England was, as it ought to be, entirely the same. A new system has not only been adopted in fact, but professed upon principle. Ministers are no longer the public servants of the state, but the private domestics of the Sovereign. One particular class of men are permitted to call themselves the King's friends*, as if the body of the people

* "An ignorant, mercenary, and servile crew; unanimous in evil, diligent in mischief, variable in principles, constant to flattery, talkers for liberty, but slaves to power;—stiling themselves the court party, and the Prince's only friends." *Davenant*.

were the King's enemies; or as if his Majesty looked for a resource or consolation, in the attachment of a few favourites, against the general contempt and detestation of his subjects. Edward, and Richard the second, made the same distinction between the collective body of the people, and a contemptible party, who surrounded the throne. The event of their mistaken conduct might have been a warning to their successors. Yet the errors of those princes were not without excuse. They had as many false friends, as our present gracious Sovereign, and infinitely greater temptations to seduce them. They were neither sober, religious, nor demure. Intoxicated with pleasure, they wasted their inheritance in pursuit of it. Their lives were like a rapid torrent, brilliant in prospect, though useless or dangerous in its course. In the dull, unanimated existence of other princes, we see nothing but a sickly, stagnant water, which taints the atmosphere without fertilizing the soil.—The morality of a King is not to be measured by vulgar rules. His situation is singular. There are faults which do him honour, and virtues that disgrace him. A faultless, insipid equality in his character, is neither capable of vice nor virtue in the extreme; but it secures his submission to those persons, whom he has been accustomed to respect, and makes him a dangerous instrument of *their* ambition. Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons, and one set of ideas, he can neither open his heart to new connexions, nor his mind to better information. A character of this sort is the soil fittest to produce that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion, which begins with a meritorious sacrifice of the understanding, and finally conducts the monarch and the martyr to the block.

At any other period, I doubt not, the scandalous disorders, which have been introduced into the government of all the dependencies of the Empire, would have roused the attention of the public. The odious abuse and prostitution of the prerogative at home,—the unconstitutional employment of the military—the arbitrary fines and commitments by the House of Lords, and court of King's Bench;—the mercy of

a chaste and pious Prince extended cheerfully to a wilful murderer, because that murderer is the brother of a common prostitute*, would, I think, at any other time, have excited universal indignation†. But the daring attack upon the constitution, in the Middlesex election, makes us callous and indifferent to inferior grievances. No man regards an eruption upon the surface, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart. The free election of our representatives in parliament comprehends, because it is, the source and security of every right and privilege of the English nation. The ministry have realised the compendious ideas of Caligula. They know that the liberty, the laws, and property of an Englishman have in truth but one neck, and that to violate the freedom of election strikes deeply at them all.

JUNIUS.

 LETTER XL.

TO LORD NORTH.

MY LORD,

22 Aug. 1770.

MR. Luttrell's services were the chief support and ornament of the Duke of Grafton's administration. The honour of rewarding them was reserved for your Lordship. The Duke, it seems, had contracted an obligation he was ashamed to acknowledge, and unable to acquit. You, my lord, had no scruples. You accepted the succession with all its incumbrances, and have paid Mr. Luttrell his legacy, at the hazard of ruining the estate.

* Miss Kennedy.

† Matthew and Patrick Kennedy had been condemned to suffer death for the murder of John Bigby, a watchman. Their sister, Miss Kennedy, was a prostitute well known to many of the courtiers of the day, and her intercession availed to obtain for them, first a respite, and afterwards a pardon. The widow of Bigby, nevertheless, laid an appeal against the murderers; and a new trial was appointed. The friends of Miss Kennedy, however, bought them off, by a present to the widow of three hundred and fifty pounds; and, in consequence, she desisted from appearing against the prisoners when they were arraigned. EDIT.

When this accomplished youth declared himself the champion of government, the world was busy in enquiring what honours or emoluments could be a sufficient recompence, to a young man of his rank and fortune, for submitting to mark his entrance into life with the universal contempt and detestation of his country.—His noble father had not been so precipitate.—To vacate his seat in parliament;—to intrude upon a county in which he had no interest or connexion;—to possess himself of another man's right, and to maintain it in defiance of public shame as well as justice, bespoke a degree of zeal or of depravity, which all the favour of a pious Prince could hardly requite. I protest, my Lord, there is in this young man's conduct, a strain of prostitution, which, for its singularity, I cannot but admire. He has discovered a new line in the human character;—he has degraded even the name of Luttrell, and gratified his father's most sanguine expectations.

The Duke of Grafton, with every possible disposition to patronise this kind of merit, was contented with pronouncing colonel Luttrell's panegyric*. The gallant spirit, the disinterested zeal of the young adventurer, were echoed through the House of Lords. His Grace repeatedly pledged himself to the house, as an evidence of the purity of his friend Mr. Luttrell's intentions;—that he had engaged without any prospect of personal benefit, and that the idea of compensation would mortally offend him†. The noble Duke could hardly be in earnest; but he had lately quitted his employment, and began to think it necessary to take some care of his reputation. At that very moment the Irish negotiation was probably begun.—Come forward, thou worthy representative of Lord Bute, and tell this insulted country, who advised the King to appoint Mr. Luttrell ADJUTANT-GENERAL to the army in Ireland. By what management was colonel Cuninghame prevailed on to resign his employment, and the obsequious Gisborne to accept of a pension for the go-

* At this time he was only lieutenant-colonel. EDIT.

† He now says that his great object is the rank of colonel, and that he ~~will~~ have it.

vernment of Kinsale*? Was it an original stipulation with the Princess of Wales, or does he owe his preferment to your Lordship's partiality, or to the Duke of Bedford's friendship? My Lord, though it may not be possible to trace this measure to its source, we can follow the stream, and warn the country of its approaching destruction. The English nation must be roused, and put upon its guard. Mr. Luttrell has already shewn us how far he may be trusted, whenever an open attack is to be made upon the liberties of this country. I do not doubt that there is a deliberate plan formed.—Your Lordship best knows by whom;—the corruption of the legislative body on this side—a military force on the other—and then, *Farewell to England!* It is impossible that any minister shall dare to advise the King to place such a man as Luttrell in the confidential post of adjutant-general, if there were not some secret purpose in view, which only such a man as Luttrell is fit to promote. The insult offered to the army in general is as gross as the outrage intended to the people of England. What! Lieutenant-colonel Luttrell, adjutant-general of an army of sixteen thousand men! one would think his Majesty's campaigns at Blackheath and Wimbledon might have taught him better.—I cannot help wishing general Harvey joy of a colleague, who does so much honour to the employment.—But, my Lord, this measure is too daring to pass unnoticed, too dangerous to be received with indifference or submission. You shall not have time to new-model the Irish army. They will not submit to be garbled by colonel Luttrell. As a mischief to the

* This infamous transaction ought to be explained to the public. Colonel Gisborne was quarter-master-general in Ireland. Lord Townshend persuades him to resign to a Scotch officer, one Fraser, and gives him the government of Kinsale.—Colonel Cuninghame was adjutant-general in Ireland. Lord Townshend offers him a pension, to induce him to resign to Luttrell. Cuninghame treats the offer with contempt. What's to be done? poor Gisborne must move once more.—He accepts of a pension of 500*l.* a year, until a government of greater value shall become vacant. Colonel Cuninghame is made governor of Kinsale; and Luttrell, at last, for whom the whole machinery is put in motion, becomes adjutant-general, and in effect takes the command of the army in Ireland

English constitution, (for he is not worth the name of enemy) they already detest him. As a boy, impudently thrust over their heads, they will receive him with indignation and contempt.—As for you, my Lord, who perhaps are no more than the blind, unhappy instrument of Lord Bute and her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, be assured that you shall be called upon to answer for the advice, which has been given, and either discover your accomplices, or fall a sacrifice to their security*.

JUNIUS.

* A few days after this letter made its appearance, the writer sent the following article to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, which was inserted according to its date.

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY.

Sept. 7, 1770.

COLONEL Luttrell has resigned the post of adjutant-general in Ireland. The necessity of the times had left the minister no alternative, except the sacrifice of this unworthy tool of power, or of himself. The dismission is too ridiculous either to deceive the public, or screen the guilty. Does colonel Luttrell expect to find a shelter from contempt by shunning the rewards of infamy? a character so well established as his own, will render such resources needless. Does the minister console himself with any hopes of crushing the most severe inquiries, because he has meanly rescinded this detestable promotion? The vanity of such dependencies may be confirmed before the period of another session. As very few forms concurred to this appointment, except private commissions to a lord lieutenant, we shall not be surprized at that effrontery which may hereafter deny the whole transaction: It is not, however, lost in ignorance, because the royal fiat had, purposely, delayed its progress through the offices of the secretaries of state. It never, perhaps, was intended that this circumstance should have been made public till the destruction of our rights had been at least more easily to be accomplished than it is at present. Let not this insulted country be for a moment off its guard. To make the blow secure, the dagger that is to wound the constitution will be as much as possible concealed until the instant that it strikes. From the intentions of administration every thing is to be dreaded; their timidity, indeed, as in the present case, may draw a line, which, were they only to consult the violence of inclination, they might resolve to pass, although the track were marked with horror, blood, and desolation. EDIT.

LETTER XLI.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD MANSFIELD*.

MY LORD,

14 November, 1770.

THE appearance of this letter will attract the curiosity of the public, and command even your Lordship's attention. I am considerably in your debt, and shall endeavour, once for all, to balance the account. Accept of this address, my Lord, as a prologue to more important scenes, in which you will probably be called upon to act or suffer.

You will not question my veracity, when I assure you that it has not been owing to any particular respect for your person that I have abstained from you so long. Besides the distress and danger with which the press is threatened, when your lordship is party, and the party is to be judge, I confess I have been deterred by the difficulty of the task. Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you, and exhausted.—Ample justice has been done by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be *my* humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense.

Permit me to begin with paying a just tribute to Scotch sincerity, wherever I find it. I own I am not apt to confide in the professions of gentlemen of that country, and when they smile, I feel an involuntary emotion to guard myself against mischief. With this general opinion of an ancient nation, I always thought it much to your lordship's honour, that, in your earlier days, you were but little infected with the prudence of your country. You had some original attachments, which you took every proper opportunity to acknowledge. The liberal spirit of youth prevailed over your native discretion. Your zeal in the cause of an unhappy prince was expressed with the sincerity of wine, and some of the solem-

* See the Private Letter, No. 24. which accompanied this address. EDIT.

nities of religion*. This, I conceive, is the most amiable point of view, in which your character has appeared. Like an honest man, you took that part in politics, which might have been expected from your birth, education, country and connections. There was something generous in your attachment to the banished house of Stuart. We lament the mistakes of a good man, and do not begin to detest him until he affects to renounce his principles. Why did you not adhere to that loyalty you once professed? Why did you not follow the example of your worthy brother†? With him, you might have shared in the honour of the Pretender's confidence—with him, you might have preserved the integrity of your character, and England, I think, might have spared you without regret.—Your friends will say, perhaps, that although you deserted the fortune of your liege Lord, you have adhered firmly to the principles which drove his father from the throne;—that without openly supporting the per-

* This man was always a rank Jacobite. Lord Ravensworth produced the most satisfactory evidence of his having frequently drank the Pretender's health upon his knees. AUTHOR.

Lord Mansfield was descended from the Stormont family, who as they owed their fortune and dignity to James I. evinced a steady attachment to his hereditary successors. Lord Mansfield and his brother, in their outset in life, were patronised by Jacobites;—and hence the one became the Pretender's confidential secretary, and the other was chiefly supported, when a student in the Temple, by a Mr. Vernon, a rich Jacobite citizen. It was in the house of this gentleman that the toast here referred to was frequently drunk.

The young lawyer, however, soon found that his principles would not comport with his interest; and on this account, deserted the House of Stuart, and became professedly a staunch adherent to that of Hanover; under which character he was soon fortunate enough to be employed in the very important office of solicitor, and subsequently attorney-general, and was on the death of Sir Dudley Ryder in 1756, promoted to be chief justice of the court of King's Bench. His personal and family attachment to the Stuarts was forgotten, and would perhaps have never been revived, had not Liddel, Lord Ravensworth, envious of the confidence reposed in him, sought industriously for some serious accusation against him, and hereby obtained a knowledge of the fact. Ravensworth, however, did not succeed in obtaining Murray's dismissal. EDIT.

† Confidential secretary to the late Pretender. This circumstance confirmed the friendship between the brothers.

son, you have done essential service to the cause, and consoled yourself for the loss of a favourite family, by reviving and establishing the maxims of their government. This is the way, in which a Scotchman's understanding corrects the error of his heart.—My Lord, I acknowledge the truth of the defence, and can trace it through all your conduct. I see through your whole life, one uniform plan to enlarge the power of the crown, at the expense of the liberty of the subject. To this object, your thoughts, words and actions have been constantly directed. In contempt or ignorance of the common law of England, you have made it your study to introduce into the court, where you preside, maxims of jurisprudence unknown to Englishmen. The Roman code, the law of nations, and the opinion of foreign civilians, are your perpetual theme;—but whoever heard you mention *Magna Charta* or the *Bill of Rights* with approbation or respect? By such treacherous arts, the noble simplicity and free spirit of our Saxon laws were first corrupted. The Norman conquest was not complete, until Norman lawyers had introduced their laws, and reduced slavery to a system.—This one leading principle directs your interpretation of the laws, and accounts for your treatment of juries. It is not in political questions only (for there the courtier might be forgiven) but let the cause be what it may, your understanding is equally on the rack, either to contract the power of the jury, or to mislead their judgment. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to the doctrine you delivered in Lord Grosvenor's cause. An action for criminal conversation being brought by a peer against a prince of the blood*, you were daring enough to tell the jury that, in fixing the damages, they were to pay no regard to the quality or fortune of the parties;—

* The action was brought by Lord Grosvenor against the Duke of Cumberland, for criminal conversation with Lady Grosvenor; and the cause in which Lord Mansfield delivered the opinion here charged to him, was tried before his Lordship in the Court of King's Bench, July 5, 1770. The damages were laid at one hundred thousand pounds: the verdict was for ten thousand pounds. The doctrine here justly objected against by JUNIUS, has since been relinquished in our courts of justice, and his own substituted in its stead. EDITOR.

that it was a trial between A. and B.—that they were to consider the offence in a moral light only, and give no greater damages to a peer of the realm, than to the meanest mechanic. I shall not attempt to refute a doctrine, which, if it was meant for law, carries falsehood and absurdity upon the face of it; but, if it was meant for a declaration of your political creed, is clear and consistent. Under an arbitrary government, all ranks and distinctions are confounded. The honour of a nobleman is no more considered than the reputation of a peasant, for with different liveries, they are equally slaves.

Even in matters of private property, we see the same bias and inclination to depart from the decisions of your predecessors*, which you certainly ought to receive as evidence of the common law. Instead of those certain, positive rules, by which the judgment of a court of law should invariably be determined, you have fondly introduced your own unsettled notions of equity and substantial justice. Decisions given upon such principles do not alarm the public so much as they ought, because the consequence and tendency of each particular instance, is not observed or regarded. In the mean time the practice gains ground; the court of King's Bench becomes a court of equity, and the judge, instead of consulting strictly the law of the land, refers only to the wisdom of the court, and to the purity of his own conscience. The name of Mr. Justice Yates, will naturally revive in your mind some of those emotions of fear and detestation, with which you always beheld him†. That great lawyer, that honest

* See an instance of the kind alluded to in Private Letter, note No. 2.

† Judge Yates was now just dead. His juridical opinions being often at variance with those of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, he chose, though senior puisne judge of that court, to take the junior judgeship of the Common Pleas, then vacant, on the promotion of the other judges, in consequence of the resignation of Sir Edward Clive. This removal took place May 4, 1770, and Sir Joseph Yates died on the succeeding 7th of June.

The following anecdote, of the truth of which there is little doubt, is worthy of record and does him immortal honour. In a debate which took place in the House of Commons, Dec. 6, 1770, on Mr. Serjeant Glynn's motion, as noticed in p. 13 of this vol. Mr. Alderman Townsend, after other arguments

man, saw your whole conduct in the light that I do. After years of ineffectual resistance to the pernicious principles introduced by your Lordship, and uniformly supported by your *humble friends* upon the bench, he determined to quit a court, whose proceedings and decisions he could neither assent to with honour, nor oppose with success.

The injustice done to an Individual is sometimes of service to the public*. Facts are apt to alarm us more than the most dangerous principles. The sufferings and firmness of a Printer have roused the public attention. You knew and felt that your conduct would not bear a parliamentary inquiry,

arguments urged in support of it, said, "I am afraid then that there is too great a vicinity between Westminster-hall and St. James's. I suspect, and the people suspect, that their correspondence is too close and intimate. But why do I say it is suspected? it is a known, avowed fact. A late judge, equally remarkable for his knowledge and integrity, was tampered with by administration. He was solicited to favour the crown in certain trials, which were then depending between it and the subject. I hear some desiring me to name the judge, but there is no necessity for it. The fact is known to several members of this house, and if I do not speak truth, let those who can, contradict me. I call upon them to rise, that the public may not be abused—but all are silent, and can as little invalidate what I have said as what I am going to say. This great, this honest judge, being thus solicited in vain, what was now to be done? what was the last resource of baffled injustice? That was learned from a short conversation which passed between him and some friends a little before his death. The last and most powerful engine was applied. A letter was sent him directly from a Great Personage; but as he suspected it to contain something dishonourable, he sent it back unopened. Is not this a subject that deserves enquiry? Ought we not to trace out the adviser of such a daring step, and upon proper conviction bring him to the block? The excellent person who was thus tempted to disgrace and perjure himself, and to betray and ruin his country, could not die in peace, till he had disclosed this scene of iniquity, and warned his fellow citizens of their danger." The above extract from Mr. Alderman Townsend's speech is taken from a report of the debate published in the year 1771, by the late celebrated and much respected Mr. W. Woodfall, who added to the speech itself the following N.B. "Sir Joseph Yates, as will appear in a succeeding speech, was the judge meant by the Alderman. When the letter from a Great Personage was mentioned, Lord North, and the rest of the Treasury-bench stared at one another, but did not utter a single sentence by way of contradiction." EDIT.

* The oppression of an obscure individual gave birth to the famous *Habeas Corpus* Act of 31 Car. II. which is frequently considered as another Magna Charta of the kingdom. *Blackstone*, 3. 135.

and you hoped to escape it by the meanest, the basest sacrifice of dignity and consistency, that ever was made by a great magistrate. Where was your firmness, where was that vindictive spirit, of which we have seen so many examples, when a man, so inconsiderable as Bingley, could force you to confess, in the face of this country, that, for two years together, you had illegally deprived an English subject of his liberty, and that he had triumphed over you at last? Yet I own, my Lord, that yours is not an uncommon character. Women, and men like women, are timid, vindictive and irresolute. Their passions counteract each other, and make the same creature, at one moment hateful, at another contemptible. I fancy, my Lord, some time will elapse before you venture to commit another Englishman for refusing to answer interrogatories*.

* "Bingley was committed for contempt in not submitting to be examined. He lay in prison two years, until the Crown thought the matter might occasion some serious complaint, and therefore he was let out, in the same contumelious state he had been put in, with all his sins about him, unanointed and unannealed.—There was much coquetry between the Court and the Attorney General, about who should undergo the ridicule of letting him escape."—*Vide another Letter to ALMON, p. 189. AUTHOR.*

To give the reader a better idea of the fact alluded to, we shall continue the quotation a few lines farther than the author, at the period in which he wrote, thought necessary.

"Mr. Attorney, tried to put it off upon the court, by telling them, upon his being brought up, he had nothing to pray against him. The sagacious and noble Lord who presided, smelling a rat, or knowing there was one, was not to be so taken in, and therefore asked, what it was Mr. Attorney had to ask of the court; to which Mr. Attorney said again, he had merely informed them, that the defendant Bingley was there, and that he should move nothing farther about him. After a little pause and a recovery from the inertness of this answer, the chief at last let him know, that if he moved nothing, nothing could be done, and every thing would remain as it was, the consequence of which was, that the defendant would still be in custody; the court never acted from itself, but upon motion from without. Mr. Attorney, finding it was in vain to be wasting more time about who should do what was agreed to be done, in a very manly manner, took the thing upon himself, and said, then I move that he may be discharged. And thus ended, in this pitiful manner, this paltry business; and yet, perhaps it was, all things considered, the best way in which it could be put an end to, disgraceful as the mode must be, to the real as well as the apparent prosecutor

The doctrine you have constantly delivered, in cases of libel, is another powerful evidence of a settled plan to contract the legal power of juries, and to draw questions, inseparable from fact, within the *arbitrium* of the court. Here, my Lord, you have fortune of your side. When you invade the province of the jury in matter of libel, you, in effect, attack the liberty of the press, and with a single stroke, wound two of your greatest enemies.—In some instances you have succeeded, because jurymen are too often ignorant of their own rights, and too apt to be awed by the authority of a chief justice. In other criminal prosecutions, the malice of the design is confessedly as much the subject of consideration to a jury, as the certainty of the fact. If a different doctrine prevails in the case of libels, why should it not extend to *all* criminal cases?—Why not to capital offences? I see no reason (and I dare say you will agree with me that there is no good one) why the life of the subject should be better protected against you, than his liberty or property. Why should you enjoy the full power of pillory, fine, and imprisonment, and not be indulged with hanging or transportation? With your Lordship's fertile genius and merciful disposition, I can conceive such an exercise of the power you have, as could hardly be aggravated by that which you have not*.

tor of it, and let down as government could not but be by such a desertion of its object. The only gainer, was a shabby pamphlet-seller or stationer, who fattened and threw upon the reputation of patriotism, by being in prison under the pretence of it, and who wished for little more than to be translated from the King's bench prison to Newgate, that is, from the borough to the city, or from the rear of the army, to the head quarters, and was pretty indifferent about his personal liberty, provided his press moved freely, and found a large vent for his productions.* For a farther account of this transaction see note, p. 63 of this vol. EDIT.

* The declaratory act upon this subject brought forwards and carried through the legislature by the indefatigable exertions of the late Mr. Fox, and which, were there no other monument to immortalize his memory, would alone be sufficient to transmit it to the latest posterity, has at length completely settled this point, and given to the jury beyond all controversy on the part of the court, the full power of judging of the law as well as of the fact; of the intention as well as of the exterior act.

The full value of this interference of Mr. Fox's can only be known by comparing it with the result of a similar attempt made by Mr. Dowdes-

But, my Lord, since you have laboured, (and not unsuccessfully) to destroy the substance *of the trial*, why should

well in 1771, the following account of which is extracted from the Public Advertiser for March 13.

“The following is the motion made by Mr. Dowdeswell in a great assembly and rejected: ‘Whereas doubts and controversies have arisen at various times concerning the right of jurors to try the whole matter laid in indictments and informations for seditious and other libels; and whereas trials by juries would be of none or imperfect effect if the jurors were not held to be competent to try the whole matter aforesaid, for settling and clearing such doubts and controversies, and for securing to the subject the effectual and complete benefit of trial by juries in such indictments and informations: Be it enacted, &c. That jurors duly impanelled and sworn to try the issue between the king and the defendant upon any indictment or information for a seditious libel, or a libel under any other denomination or description, shall be held and reputed competent to all intents and purposes, in law and in right, to try every part of the matter laid or charged in said indictment or information, comprehending the criminal intention of the defendant and the civil tendency of the libel charged, as well as the mere fact of the publication thereof, and the application by inuendo of blanks, initial letters, pictures and other devices; any opinion, question, ambiguity, or doubt, to the contrary notwithstanding.’

“Mr. Dowdeswell observed that as *doubts* had arose in the people’s minds respecting the power of juries in the cases of libels; to remove those *doubts*, he should propose an *Enacting Bill*, to give to juries a power to try the whole matter in issue; that is, to determine whether the paper or book charged with being a libel be so or not: but that if gentlemen liked a *Declaratory Bill* better, he had left the matter open. He paid some compliments to Lord Mansfield, and read his *Enacting Bill*. Mr. Burke spoke in support of the Enacting Bill, and in praise of Lord Mansfield. He said, if the noble judge had erred, he had erred with great law authorities—in great and respectable company.

“Mr. James Grenville, jun. spoke for a declaratory bill; as did Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Aubrey, and Colonel Barre; Sir George Saville, Mr. T. Townsend, Mr. R. H. Coxe, and Mr. Dunning spoke in favour of the motion.

These last gentlemen severally urged the necessity of settling this matter beyond doubt or controversy; because it did appear, from a late paper given by Lord Mansfield to the House of Lords, that it was the opinion of all the judges of the King’s Bench, that the jury should determine only the *FACT*, and the *LAW* should be left to the judges; but this was not only the opinion of the judges, but that, in a former debate, all the ministerial lawyers and leaders had supported the same; that the doctrine was dangerous in the highest degree, as encroaching on the p^{al}la-
dium

you suffer the form of the *verdict* to remain? Why force twelve honest men, in palpable violation of their oaths, to

dium of English liberty, the trial by jury, as leaving the essence of the cause to the determination of *interested men, the judges*; that this doctrine, now adopted by the judges, was not of older date than the reign of Queen Anne. In Queen Elizabeth's reign there was a remarkable case, which shewed the contrary to be the opinion then (an indictment of a grand jury at Lincoln, which found a *true Bill* as to the *fact*, but no true bill as to the *malice*, &c. This the judges, at that time, determined to be no true Bill; by which they determined, that the jury were judges of the law, as well as the fact) that in the famous case of the bishops, in the reign of James the Second, the judges, though made for the purpose, unanimously concurred in directing the jury to judge of the *whole* of the information, as well the *law* as the *fact*; that whenever the jury had thought proper to dispute the affair with the judges, the jury had always got the better; and that a law establishing this doctrine would put an end to this dispute.

"The ministry did not say one single word in the dispute, but the debate was taken up by the gentlemen of the minority. Capt. Phipps spoke very well, and with great spirit. Sir William Meredith spoke extremely well; Mr. James Grenville, jun. spoke inimitably well for his first essay; Mr. Popham and others. There was not one of them who did not establish the doctrine that juries are judges of *law* as well as *fact*, but disapproved of the present motion for various reasons.

"That the doctrine, being established on the foundation of the common law, did not require the assistance of the statute law to defend it. That if a bill of this nature was brought into the house, and afterwards rejected, it might have very bad effects on the minds of the people, as it might be supposed that the doctrine was *doubtful*. That an *enacting* law would make it appear, that this was a *novel* doctrine, which few in the house could concur in; and that if made *declaratory* only, the judges who had acted on principles contrary to such declaration, would be liable to condign punishment, which the friends of the motion did not seem to wish.

"For these reasons the numbers were, 218 for adjourning, 72 against it."

Mr. Fox himself was not fortunate in his first attempt: but he determined to persevere till he had succeeded. He lost his bill in the Upper House in 1791, but accomplished his purpose in the spring of the ensuing year, notwithstanding the joint opposition of the law lords, Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst. The venerable Camden supported the bill with an animation and energy well worthy of his own honest heart, and of the importance of the principle it endeavoured to establish, and may be said to have finished the glorious career of his political life, with the vote he

gave

pronounce their fellow-subject a *guilty* man, when, almost at the same moment, you forbid their enquiring into the only circumstance, which in the eye of law and reason, constitutes guilt—the malignity or innocence of his intentions?—But I understand your Lordship.—If you could succeed in making the trial by jury useless and ridiculous, you might then with greater safety introduce a bill into parliament for enlarging the jurisdiction of the court, and extending your favourite trial by interrogatories to every question, in which the life or liberty of an Englishman is concerned.*

Your charge to the jury, in the prosecution against Almon and Woodfall, contradicts the highest legal authorities, as well as the plainest dictates of reason†. In Miller's cause, and still more expressly in that of Baldwin‡, you have proceeded a step farther, and grossly contradicted yourself.—You may know perhaps, though I do not mean to insult you by an appeal to your experience, that the language of truth is uniform and consistent. To depart from it safely, requires memory and discretion. In the two last trials, your charge to the jury began, as usual, with assuring them that they had nothing to do with the law,—that they were to find the bare fact, and not concern themselves about the legal inferences drawn from it, or the degree of the defendant's guilt.—Thus far you were consistent with your former practice.—But

gave on this illustrious occasion; seldom possessing sufficient health to attend parliament afterwards, and expiring on April 18, 1794. EDIT.

* The philosophical poet doth notably describe the damnable and damned proceedings of the Judge of Hell

“Gnossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque, auditque dolos, subigitque fateri.”

First he punisheth, and *then* he heareth; and lastly compelleth to confess, and makes and mars laws at his pleasure; like as the Centurion, in the holy history did to St. Paul, for the text saith, “Centurio apprehendi Paulum jussit, et se catenis ligari, et *tunc* INTERROGABAT, quis fuisset, et quid fecisset;” but good Judges and Justices abhor these courses. *Coke 2. Inst. 55.*

† See this subject farther enlarged upon in the preface, p. 10. EDIT.

‡ All the persons here named were prosecuted for publishing the Letter to the King, No. xxxv. EDIT.

how will you account for the conclusion? You told the jury that, "if, after all, they would take upon themselves to determine the law, *they might do it*, but they must be very sure that they determined according to law, for it touched their consciences, and they acted at their peril."—If I understand your first proposition, you meant to affirm, that the jury were not competent judges of the law in the criminal case of a libel—that it did not fall within *their* jurisdiction; and that, with respect to *them*, the malice or innocence of the defendant's intentions would be a question *coram non judice*. But the second proposition clears away your own difficulties, and restores the jury to all their judicial capacities. You make the competence of the court to depend upon the legality of the decision*. In the first instance you deny the power absolutely. In the second, you admit the power, provided it be legally exercised. Now, my Lord, without pretending to reconcile the distinctions of Westminster-hall with the simple information of common-sense, or the integrity of fair argument, I shall be understood by your Lordship, when I assert that, if a jury or any other court of judicature (for jurors are judges) have no right to entertain a cause, or question of law, it signifies nothing whether their decision be or be not according to law. Their decision is in itself a mere nullity: the parties are not bound to submit to it; and, if the jury run any risque of punishment, it is not for pronouncing a corrupt or illegal verdict, but for the illegality of meddling with a point, on which they have no legal authority to decide†.

* Directly the reverse of the doctrine he constantly maintained in the House of Lords and elsewhere, upon the decision of the Middlesex election. He invariably asserted that the decision must be *legal*, because the court was *competent*; and never could be prevailed on to enter farther into the question.

† These iniquitous prosecutions cost the best of princes six thousand pounds, and ended in the total defeat and disgrace of the prosecutors. In the course of one of them Judge Aston had the unparalleled impudence to tell Mr. Morris (a gentleman of unquestionable honour and integrity, and who was then giving his evidence on oath,) that *he should pay very little regard to any affidavit he should make*.

I cannot quit this subject without reminding your Lordship of the name of Mr. Benson. Without offering any legal objection, you ordered a special juryman to be set aside in a cause, where the King was prosecutor. The novelty of the fact required explanation. Will you condescend to tell the world by what law or custom you were authorized to make a peremptory challenge of a juryman? The parties indeed have this power, and perhaps your Lordship, having accustomed yourself to unite the characters of judge and party, may claim it in virtue of the new capacity you have assumed, and profit by your own wrong. The time, within which you might have been punished for this daring attempt to pack a jury, is, I fear, elapsed; but no length of time shall erase the record of it*.

The mischiefs you have done this country, are not confined to your interpretation of the laws. You are a minister, my Lord, and, as such, have long been consulted. Let us candidly examine what use you have made of your ministerial influence. I will not descend to little matters, but come at once to those important points, on which your resolution was waited for, on which the expectation of your opinion kept a great part of the nation in suspense.—A constitutional question arises upon a declaration of the law of parliament, by which the freedom of election, and the birth-right of the subject were supposed to have been invaded.—The King's servants are accused of violating the constitution.—The nation is in a ferment.—The ablest men of all parties engage in the question, and exert their utmost abilities in the discussion of it.—What part has the honest Lord Mansfield acted? As an eminent judge of the law, his opinion would have been respected.—As a peer, he had a right to demand an audience of his Sovereign, and inform him that his ministers were pursuing unconstitutional measures.—Upon other occasions, my Lord, you have no difficulty in finding your way into the closet. The pretended neutrality of belonging to no party, will not save your reputation. In

* See this circumstance further explained in Letters LXXI. and LXXII.

questions merely political, an honest man may stand neuter. But the laws and constitution are the general property of the subject;—not to defend is to relinquish;—and who is there so senseless as to renounce his share in a common benefit, unless he hopes to profit by a new division of the spoil. As a lord of parliament, you were repeatedly called upon to condemn or defend the new law declared by the House of Commons. You affected to have scruples, and every expedient was attempted to remove them.—The question was proposed and urged to you in a thousand different shapes.—Your prudence still supplied you with evasion;—your resolution was invincible. For my own part, I am not anxious to penetrate this solemn secret. I care not to whose wisdom it is entrusted, nor how soon you carry it with you to your grave*. You have betrayed your opinion by the very care you have taken to conceal it. It is not from Lord Mansfield that we expect any reserve in declaring his real sentiments in favour of government, or in opposition to the people; nor is it difficult to account for the motions of a timid, dishonest heart, which neither has virtue enough to acknowledge truth, nor courage to contradict it.—Yet you continue to support an administration which you know is universally odious, and which, on some occasions, you yourself speak of with contempt. You would fain be thought to take no share in government, while, in reality, you are the main spring of the machine.—Here too we trace the *little*, prudential policy of a Scotchman.—Instead of acting that open, generous part, which becomes your rank and station, you meanly skulk into the closet, and give your Sovereign such advice, as you have not spirit to avow or defend. You secretly engross the power, while you decline the title of minister; and though you dare not be Chancellor, you know how to secure the emoluments of the office.—Are the seals to be for ever in commission, that you may enjoy five thou-

* He said in the House of Lords, that he believed he should carry his opinion with him to the grave. It was afterwards reported that he had intrusted it, in special confidence, to the ingenious Duke of Cumberland.

sand pounds a year?—I beg pardon, my Lord*;—your fears have interposed at last, and forced you to resign.—The odium of continuing speaker of the House of Lords, upon such terms, was too formidable to be resisted. What a multitude of bad passions are forced to submit to a constitutional infirmity! But though you have relinquished the salary, you still assume the rights of a minister.—Your conduct, it seems, must be defended in parliament.—For what other purpose is your wretched friend, that miserable serjeant, posted to the House of Commons? Is it in the abilities of a Mr. Leigh to defend the great Lord Mansfield?—Or is he only the punch of the puppet-shew, to speak as he is prompted, by the CHIEF JUGGLER behind the curtain†?

In public affairs, my Lord, cunning, let it be ever so well wrought, will not conduct a man honourably through life‡. Like bad money, it may be current for a time, but it will soon be cried down. It cannot consist with a liberal spirit, though it be sometimes united with extraordinary qualifications. When I acknowledge your abilities, you may believe I am sincere. I feel for human nature, when I see a man, so gifted as you are, descend to such vile practice.—Yet do not suffer your vanity to console you too soon. Believe me, my good Lord, you are not admired in the same degree, in which you are detested. It is only the partiality of your friends, that balances the defects of your heart with the superiority of your understanding. No learned man, even among your own tribe, thinks you qualified to preside in a court of common law. Yet it is confessed that, under *Justinian*, you might have made an incomparable *Prætor*.—It

* Upon the death of Charles Yorke, who, as has been already observed, shot himself almost immediately on his appointment to the Chancellorship, the great seal was held in commission by Sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, the Hon. Henry Bathurst, and Sir Richard Aston; while Lord Mansfield was appointed speaker of the Upper House, with a salary as above. Lord Apsley succeeded to Mr. Yorke, and of course took the office of speaker at the same time from the hands of Lord Mansfield. EDIT.

† This paragraph gagged poor *Leigh*. I really am concerned for the man, and wish it were possible to open his mouth.—He is a very pretty orator.

‡ See Private Letter, No. 44. EDIT

is remarkable enough, but I hope not ominous, that the laws you understand best, and the judges you affect to admire most, flourished in the decline of a great empire, and are supposed to have contributed to its fall.

Here, my Lord, it may be proper for us to pause together.—It is not for my own sake that I wish you to consider the delicacy of your situation. Beware how you indulge the first emotions of your resentment. This paper is delivered to the world, and cannot be recalled! The persecution of an innocent printer cannot alter facts, nor refute arguments.—Do not furnish me with farther materials against yourself.—An honest man, like the true religion, appeals to the understanding, or modestly confides in the internal evidence of his conscience. The impostor employs force instead of argument, imposes silence where he cannot convince, and propagates his character by the sword.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XLII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

January 30, 1771.

IF we recollect in what manner the *King's friends* have been constantly employed, we shall have no reason to be surprised at any condition of disgrace, to which the once respected name of Englishmen may be degraded. His Majesty has no cares, but such as concern the laws and constitution of this country. In his Royal breast there is no room left for resentment, no place for hostile sentiments against the natural enemies of his crown. The system of government is uniform.—Violence and oppression at home can only be supported by treachery and submission abroad. When the civil rights of the people are daringly invaded on one side, what have we to expect, but that their political rights should be deserted and betrayed, in the same proportion, on the other? The plan of domestic policy, which has been invariably pursued, from the moment of his present

Majesty's accession, engrosses all the attention of his servants. They know that the security of their places depends upon their maintaining, at any hazard, the secret system of the closet. A foreign war might embarrass, an unfavourable event might ruin the minister, and defeat the deep-laid scheme of policy, to which he and his associates owe their employments. Rather than suffer the execution of that scheme to be delayed or interrupted, the King has been advised to make a public surrender, a solemn sacrifice, in the face of all Europe, not only of the interests of his subjects, but of his own personal reputation, and of the dignity of that crown, which his predecessors have worn with honour. These are strong terms, Sir, but they are supported by fact and argument.

The King of Great Britain had been for some years in possession of an island*, to which, as the ministry themselves have repeatedly asserted, the Spaniards had no claim of right. The importance of the place is not in question. If it were, a better judgment might be formed of it from the opinions of Lord Anson and Lord Egmont, and from the anxiety of the Spaniards, than from any fallacious insinuations thrown out by men, whose interest it is to undervalue that property, which they are determined to relinquish. The pretensions of Spain were a subject of negotiation between the two courts. They had been discussed, but not admitted. The King of Spain, in these circumstances, bids adieu to amicable negotiation, and appeals directly to the sword. The expedition against Port Egmont does not appear to have been a sudden ill-concerted enterprise. It seems to have been conducted not only with the usual military precautions, but in all the forms and ceremonies of war. A frigate was first employed to examine the strength of the place. A message was then sent, demanding immediate possession, in the Catholic King's name, and ordering our people to depart. At last a military force appears, and compels the garrison to

* Falkland or the Great Malouine Island. See a brief statement of the whole dispute in a note to the Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXXXVIII.—
EDIT.

surrender. A formal capitulation ensues, and his Majesty's ship, which might at least have been permitted to bring home his troops immediately, is detained in port twenty days, and her rudder forcibly taken away. This train of facts carries no appearance of the rashness or violence of a Spanish governor. On the contrary, the whole plan seems to have been formed and executed, in consequence of deliberate orders, and a regular instruction from the Spanish court. Mr. Bucarelli is not a pirate, nor has he been treated as such by those who employed him. I feel for the honour of a gentleman, when I affirm that our King owes him a signal reparation.—Where will the humiliation of this country end! A King of Great Britain, not contented with placing himself upon a level with a Spanish governor, descends so low as to do a notorious injustice to that governor. As a salvo for his own reputation, he has been advised to traduce the character of a brave officer, and to treat him as a common robber, when he knew with certainty that Mr. Bucarelli had acted in obedience to his orders, and had done no more than his duty. Thus it happens in private life, with a man who has no spirit nor sense of honour.—One of his equals orders a servant to strike him.—Instead of returning the blow to the master, his courage is contented with throwing an aspersion, equally false and public, upon the character of the servant.

This short recapitulation was necessary to introduce the consideration of his Majesty's speech, of 13th November, 1770, and the subsequent measures of government. The excessive caution, with which the speech was drawn up, had impressed upon me an early conviction, that no serious resentment was thought of, and that the conclusion of the business, whenever it happened, must, in some degree, be dishonourable to England. There appears through the whole speech, a guard and reserve in the choice of expression, which shews how careful the ministry were not to embarrass their future projects by any firm or spirited declaration from the throne. When all hopes of peace are lost, his Majesty tells his parliament, that he is preparing,—not for barbarous war,

but (with all his mother's softness*,) *for a different situation.* An open act of hostility, authorized by the Catholic King, is called *an act of a governor.* This act, to avoid the mention of a regular siege and surrender, passes under the piratical description of *seizing by force;* and the thing taken is described, not as a part of the King's territory or proper dominion, but merely as a *possession,* a word expressly chosen in contradistinction to, and exclusion of the idea of *right,* and to prepare us for a future surrender both of the right and of the possession. Yet this speech, Sir, cautious and equivocal as it is, cannot, by any sophistry, be accommodated to the measures, which have since been adopted. It seemed to promise, that whatever might be given up by secret stipulation, some care would be taken to save appearances to the public. The event shews us, that to depart, in the minutest article, from the nicety and strictness of punctilio, is as dangerous to national honour, as to female virtue. The woman, who admits of one familiarity, seldom knows where to stop, or what to refuse; and when the counsels of a great country give way in a single instance,—when once they are inclined to submission, every step accelerates the rapidity of the descent. The ministry themselves, when they framed the speech, did not foresee, that they should ever accede to such an accommodation, as they have since advised their master to accept of.

The King says, *The honour of my crown and the rights of my people are deeply affected.* The Spaniard, in his reply, says, *I give you back possession, but I adhere to my claim of prior right, reserving the assertion of it for a more favourable opportunity.*

The speech says, *I made an immediate demand of satisfaction, and, if that fails, I am prepared to do myself justice.* This immediate demand must have been sent to Madrid on the 12th of September, or in a few days after. It was certainly refused, or evaded, and the King *has not* done himself jus-

* Alluding to the vulgar report of the day, that the Princess Dowager of Wales had interfered in the Spanish negotiation. EDIT.

tice.—When the first magistrate speaks to the nation, some care should be taken of his apparent veracity.

The speech proceeds to say, *I shall not discontinue my preparations until I have received proper reparation for the injury*. If this assurance may be relied on, what an enormous expense is entailed, *sine die*, upon this unhappy country! Restitution of a possession, and reparation of an injury are as different in substance as they are in language. The very act of restitution may contain, as in this instance it palpably does, a shameful aggravation of the injury. A man of spirit does not measure the degree of an injury by the mere positive damage he has sustained. He considers the principle on which it is founded; he resents the superiority asserted over him; and rejects with indignation the claim of right, which his adversary endeavours to establish, and would force him to acknowledge.

The motives, on which the Catholic King makes restitution, are, if possible, more insolent and disgraceful to our Sovereign, than even the declaratory condition annexed to it. After taking four months to consider, whether the expedition was undertaken by his own orders or not, he condescends to disavow the enterprize, and to restore the island,—not from any regard to justice;—not from any regard he bears to his Britannic Majesty, but merely *from the persuasion, in which he is, of the pacific sentiments of the King of Great Britain*.—At this rate, if our King had discovered the spirit of a man,—if he had made a peremptory demand of satisfaction, the King of Spain would have given him a peremptory refusal. But why this unseasonable, this ridiculous mention of the King of Great Britain's pacific intentions? Have they ever been in question? Was *he* the aggressor? Does he attack foreign powers without provocation? Does he even resist, when he is insulted? No, Sir, if any ideas of strife or hostility have entered his royal mind, they have a very different direction. The enemies of England have nothing to fear from them.

After all, Sir, to what kind of disavowal has the King of Spain at last consented? Supposing it made in proper time,

it should have been accompanied with instant restitution; and if Mr. Bucarelli* acted without orders, he deserved death. Now, Sir, instead of immediate restitution, we have a four months negotiation, and the officer, whose act is disavowed, returns to court, and is loaded with honours.

If the actual situation of Europe be considered, the treachery of the King's servants, particularly of Lord North, who takes the whole upon himself, will appear in the strongest colours of aggravation. Our allies were masters of the Mediterranean. The King of France's present aversion from war, and the distraction of his affairs are notorious. He is now in a state of war with his people. In vain did the Catholic King solicit him to take part in the quarrel against us. His finances were in the last disorder, and it was probable that his troops might find sufficient employment at home. In these circumstances, we might have dictated the law to Spain. There are no terms, to which she might not have been compelled to submit. At the worst, a war with Spain alone, carries the fairest promise of advantage. One good effect at least would have been immediately produced by it. The desertion of France would have irritated her ally, and in all probability have dissolved the family compact. The scene is now fatally changed. The advantage is thrown away. The most favourable opportunity is lost.—Hereafter we shall know the value of it. When the French King is reconciled to his subjects;—when Spain has completed her preparations;—when the collected strength of the house of Bourbon attacks us at once, the King himself will be able to determine upon the wisdom or imprudence of his present conduct. As far as the probability of argument extends, we may safely pronounce, that a conjuncture, which threatens the very being of this country, has been wilfully prepared and forwarded by our own ministry. How far the people may be animated to resistance under the present administration, I know not; but this I know with certainty, that, under the present administration, or if any thing like it should continue, it is of

* The Spanish commander of the expedition. EDIT.

very little moment whether we are a conquered nation or not*.

Having travelled thus far in the high road of matter of fact, I may now be permitted to wander a little into the field of imagination. Let us banish from our minds the persuasion that these events have really happened in the reign of the best of princes. Let us consider them as nothing more than the materials of a fable, in which we may conceive the Sovereign of some other country to be concerned. I mean to violate all the laws of probability, when I suppose that this imaginary King, after having voluntarily disgraced himself in the eyes of his subjects, might return to a sense of his dishonour!—that he might perceive the snare laid for him by his ministers, and feel a spark of shame kindling in his breast.—The part he must then be obliged to act, would overwhelm him with confusion. To his parliament he must say, *I called you together to receive your advice, and have never asked your opinion.*—To the merchant,—*I have distressed your commerce; I have dragged your seamen out of your ships, I have loaded you with a grievous weight of insurances.*—To the landholder,—*I told you war was too probable, when I was determined to submit to any terms of accommodation; I extorted new taxes from you before it was possible they could be wanted, and am now unable to account for the application of them.*—To the public creditor,—*I have delivered up your fortunes a prey to foreigners and to the vilest of your fellow subjects.* Perhaps this repenting Prince

* The King's acceptance of the Spanish Ambassador's declaration is drawn up in barbarous French, and signed by the earl of Rochford. This diplomatic lord has spent his life in the study and practice of *Etiquettes*, and is supposed to be a profound master of the ceremonies. I will not insult him by any reference to grammar or common sense. If he were even acquainted with the common forms of his office, I should think him as well qualified for it as any man in his Majesty's service.—The reader is requested to observe lord Rochford's method of authenticating a public instrument. "En foi de quoi, *moi* soussigné, un des principaux secretaires d'etat de S. M. B. *ai* signé la presente de ma signature ordinaire, et icelle fait apposer le cachet de *nos* armes." In three lines there are no less than seven false concords. But the man does not even know the stile of his office;—if he had known it, he would have said, "*nous*, soussigné secretaire d'etat de S. M. B. *avons* signé, &c."

might conclude with one general acknowledgment to them all,—*I have involved every rank of my subjects in anxiety and distress, and have nothing to offer you in return, but the certainty of national dishonour, an armed truce, and peace without security.*

If these accounts were settled, there would still remain an apology to be made to his navy and to his army. To the first he would say, *you were once the terror of the world. But go back to your harbours. A man dishonoured, as I am, has no use for your service.* It is not probable that he would appear again before his soldiers, even in the pacific ceremony of a review*. But wherever he appeared, the humiliating confession would be extorted from him. *I have received a blow,—and had not spirit to resent it. I demanded satisfaction, and have accepted a declaration, in which the right to strike me again is asserted and confirmed.* His countenance at least would speak this language, and even his guards would blush for him.

But to return to our argument.—The ministry, it seems, are labouring to draw a line of distinction between the honour of the crown and the rights of the people. This new idea has yet been only started in discourse, for in effect both objects have been equally sacrificed. I neither understand the distinction, nor what use the ministry propose to make of it. The King's honour is that of his people. *Their* real honour and real interest are the same.—I am not contending for a vain punctilio. A clear, unblemished character comprehends not only the integrity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to an injury; and whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the foundation of peace, of independence, and of safety. Private credit is wealth;—public honour is security.—The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage and you fix him to the earth†.

JUNIUS.

* A mistake. He appears before them every day, with the mark of a blow upon his face.—*proh pudor!*

† It was against this letter that Dr. Johnson was engaged by the ministry

LETTER XLIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

6th Feb. 1771.

I HOPE your correspondent JUNIUS is better employed than in answering or reading the criticisms of a newspaper. This is a task, from which, if he were inclined to submit to it, his friends ought to relieve him. Upon this principle, I

try to muster the whole of his political and argumentative powers. His answer, published in 1771, is entitled, "Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands:" from which the following is worth transcribing:

"To considerations such as these, it is reasonable to impute that anxiety of the Spaniards, from which the importance of this island is inferred by JUNIUS, one of the few writers of his despicable faction whose name does not disgrace the page of an opponent. The value of the thing disputed may be very different to him that gains and him that loses it. The Spaniards, by yielding Falkland's Island, have admitted a precedent of what they think encroachment, have suffered a breach to be made in the outworks of their empire, and, notwithstanding the reserve of prior right, have suffered a dangerous exception to the prescriptive tenure of their American territories."

"An unsuccessful war would undoubtedly have had the effect which the enemies of the ministry so earnestly desire; for who could have sustained the disgrace of folly ending in misfortune? but had wanton invasion undeservedly prospered, had Falkland's Island been yielded unconditionally with every right prior and posterior, though the rabble might have shouted, and the windows have blazed, yet those who know the value of life, and the uncertainty of public credit, would have murmured, perhaps unheard, at the increase of our debt, and the loss of our people.

"This thirst of blood, however the visible promoters of sedition may think it convenient to shrink from the accusation, is loudly avowed by JUNIUS, the writer by whom his party owes much of its pride, and some of its popularity: Of JUNIUS it cannot be said, as of Ulysses, that he scatters ambiguous expressions among the vulgar; for he cries *havoock* without reserve, and endeavours to let slip the dogs of foreign and of civil war, ignorant whither they are going, and careless what may be their prey. JUNIUS has sometimes made his satire felt, but let not injudicious admiration mistake the venom of the shaft for the vigour of the bow. He has sometimes sported with lucky malice; but to him that knows his company, it is not hard to be sarcastic in a mask. While he walks like Jack the Giant Killer in a coat of darkness, he may do much mischief with little strength.

shall undertake to answer Anti-Junius, more I believe, to his conviction than to his satisfaction. Not daring to attack the main body of JUNIUS's last letter, he triumphs in having, as he thinks, surprised an out-post, and cut off a detached

strength. Novelty captivates the superficial and thoughtless; vehemence delights the discontented and turbulent. He that contradicts acknowledged truth will always have an audience; he that villifies established authority will always find abettors.

"JUNIUS burst into notice with a blaze of impudence which has rarely glared upon the world before, and drew the rabble after him as a monster makes a show. When he had once provided for his safety by impenetrable secrecy, he had nothing to combat but truth and justice, enemies whom he knows to be feeble in the dark. Being then at liberty to indulge himself in all the immunities of invisibility; out of the reach of danger, he has been bold; out of the reach of shame, he has been confident. As a rhetorician, he has the art of persuading when he seconded desire; as a reasoner, he has convinced those who had no doubt before; as a moralist, he has taught that virtue may disgrace; and as a patriot, he has gratified the mean by insults on the high. Finding sedition ascendant, he has been able to advance it; finding the nation combustible, he has been able to inflame it. Let us abstract from his wit the vivacity of insolence, and withdraw from his efficacy the sympathetic favour of plebeian malignity; I do not say that we shall leave him nothing; the cause that I defend scorns the help of falsehood; but if we leave him only his merit, what will be his praise?

"It is not by his liveliness of imagery, his pungency of periods, or his fertility of allusion, that he detains the cits of London and the boors of Middlesex. Of stile and sentiment they take no cognizance. They admire him for virtues like their own, for contempt of order, and violence of outrage, for rage of defamation and audacity of falsehood. The supporters of the Bill of Rights feel no niceties of composition, nor dexterities of sophistry; their faculties are better proportioned to the bawl of Bellas or barbarity of Beckford; but they are told that JUNIUS is on their side, and they are therefore sure that JUNIUS is infallible. Those who know not whither he would lead them, resolve to follow him; and those who cannot find his meaning, hope he means rebellion.

"JUNIUS is an unusual phenomenon on which some have gazed with wonder, and some with terror, but wonder and terror are transitory passions. He will soon be more closely viewed, or more attentively examined, and what folly has taken for a comet that, from its flaming hair, shook pestilence and war, enquiry will find to be only a meteor formed by the vapours of putrefying democracy, and kindled into flame by the effervescence of interest struggling with conviction, which, after having
plunged

argument, a mere straggling proposition. But even in this petty warfare, he shall find himself defeated.

JUNIUS does not speak of the Spanish *nation* as the *natu*

plunged its followers in a bog, will leave us enquiring why we regarded it.

"Yet though I cannot think the stile of JUNIUS secure from criticism, though his expressions are often trite, and his periods feeble, I should never have stationed him where he has placed himself, had I not rated him by his morals rather than his faculties. 'What,' says Pope, 'must be the priest, where the monkey is a god?' What must be the drudge of a party of which the heads are Wilkes and Crosby, Sawbridge and Townshend?

"JUNIUS knows his own meaning, and can therefore tell it. He is an enemy to the ministry, he sees them hourly growing stronger. He knows that a war at once unjust and unsuccessful would have certainly displaced them, and is therefore, in his zeal for his country, angry that war was not unjustly made, and unsuccessfully conducted; but there are others whose thoughts are less clearly expressed, and whose schemes perhaps are less consequentially digested, who declare that they do not wish for rupture, yet condemn the ministry for not doing that from which a rupture would naturally have followed."

Of this pamphlet the ministry were not a little proud; and especially as they made no doubt that JUNIUS would hereby be drawn into a paper contest with Johnson, and that hence they would possess a greater facility of detecting him. JUNIUS seems to have been aware of the trap laid for him, and made no direct reply whatever. How far the Doctor was correct in asking the question, what must be the drudge of a party of which the heads are Wilkes and Crosby, Sawbridge and Townshend, may be seen by referring to the protest entered on the Lord's journals against the address voted in consequence of the communications made to both houses of parliament on the conclusion of the Spanish convention, which adopts most of the sentiments here so ably expressed, and which will be found in a note to Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXXXVIII.

In effect the doctor did not fairly meet his argument; and a reply was not altogether necessary.

With one part of this celebrated pamphlet the minister himself was displeased, and actually suppressed the sale till his own correction was substituted for the obnoxious passage. The reader shall receive the account from the following letter inserted in the Public Advertiser, which is sufficiently explicit, and was incapable of contradiction.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

April 2, 1771.

SOME little time ago there was published a pamphlet, intitled, "Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands,"

said

ral enemies of England. He applies that description with the strictest truth and justice to the *Spanish Court*. From the moment, when a Prince of the House of Bourbon ascended that throne, their whole system of government was

said, upon good grounds, to have been written by the learned Dr. Johnson, under the special direction of the minister-apparent. Scarce were a few copies got abroad, before the sale of the edition, which had been advertised, was stopped, by order of the minister, for the sake of an alteration, which was made (as there is reason to believe) without the consent of the doctor having been asked or had; after which it was set agoing again, and the public is now happily once more in possession of it. But as some may be curious to know in what it was that the alteration particularly consisted, and may not have by them both the first published and the altered pamphlet to compare, the following account will solve the question:

In the *first* publication, pages 67 and 68, you have the following paragraph:

"The Manilla ransom has, I think, been most mentioned by the inferior bellowers of sedition. Those who lead the faction know that it cannot be remembered much to their advantage. The followers of Lord Rockingham remember that his ministry begun and ended without obtaining it: the adherents to Grenville would be told that he could never be brought to understand our claim. The law of nations made little of his knowledge. Let him not, however, be depreciated in his grave; he had powers not universally possessed: *if he could have GOT the MONEY he could have COUNTED it.*"

Upon calling in the pamphlet, this sarcastic pretty epigram, at the close of the paragraph, was struck out, the two pages being cancelled, and a *carton* substituted, with the following alteration after the word "possessed:"

"And if he sometimes ERRED, he was likewise sometimes RIGHT."

And thus it now stands in the *second* publication. And here the exquisite stupidity of the words which were substituted, to the words expunged, would not be worth remarking, as if it was very possible to name that personage in the world of whom it was not predicable, that "*if he sometimes erred, he was also sometimes right;*" but that there occurs upon it a not uncurious question, to which of the two motives of the minister this notable alteration was most probably owing; a question which it is left to the candour of the reader to decide with himself.

Whether was it owing to the premier's scrupulous delicacy of not wounding the memory of the dead (a man who with a knowledge of the laws, and of the finances, infinitely superior to his, had however, if possible, as little of the genius for managing affairs as himself), that he caused the close of the paragraph in the first publication to be cancelled, to make

way

inverted and became hostile to this country. Unity of possession introduced a unity of politics, and Lewis the Fourteenth had reason when he said to his grandson, "*The Pyrenees are removed.*" The History of the present century is one continued confirmation of the prophecy.

The assertion "*That violence and oppression at home can only be supported by treachery and submission abroad,*" is applied to a free people, whose rights are invaded, not to the government of a country, where despotic, or absolute power is confessedly vested in the prince; and with this application, the assertion is true. An absolute monarch having no points to carry at home, will naturally maintain the honour of his crown in all his transactions with foreign powers. But if we could suppose the Sovereign of a free nation, possessed with a design to make himself absolute, he would be inconsistent with himself if he suffered his projects to be interrupted or embarrassed by a foreign war; unless that war tended, as in some cases it might, to promote his principal design. Of the three exceptions to this general rule of conduct, (quoted by Anti-Junius) that of Oliver Cromwell is the only one in point. Harry the eighth, by the submission of his parliament, was as absolute a prince as Lewis the fourteenth. Queen Elizabeth's government was not oppressive to the people; and as to her foreign wars, it ought to be considered that they were *unavoidable*. The national honour was not in question. She was compelled to fight in defence of her own person and of her title to the crown. In the common course of selfish policy, Oliver Cromwell should have cultivated the friendship of foreign powers, or at least have avoided disputes with them, the better to establish his tyranny at home.

way for foisting into the second an alteration that mended nothing, being manifestly an exquisite chip of nonsense?

Or, was it that those unlucky words in the first, relative to the *counting of money*, struck the conscious premier, in the light of the obvious danger of the public's being reminded by them of that *rich* story of a *high* character's having, upon a time, been observed busily employed in the *noble* act of COUNTING money at church? EDIT.

Had he been only a bad man, he would have sacrificed the honour of the nation to the success of his domestic policy. But, with all his crimes, he had the spirit of an Englishman. The conduct of such a man must always be an exception to vulgar rules. He had abilities sufficient to reconcile contradictions, and to make a great nation at the same moment unhappy and formidable. If it were not for the respect I bear the minister, I could name a man, who, without one grain of understanding, can do half as much as Oliver Cromwell.

Whether or no there be a *secret system* in the closet, and what may be the object of it, are questions, which can only be determined by appearances, and on which every man must decide for himself.

The whole plan of JUNIUS's letter proves that he himself makes no distinction between the real honour of the crown and the real interest of the people. In the climax, to which your correspondent objects, JUNIUS adopts the language of the Court, and by that conformity, gives strength to his argument. He says that, "*the King has not only sacrificed the interests of the people, but, (what was likely to touch him more nearly,) his personal reputation and the dignity of his crown.*"

The queries, put by *Anti-Junius*, can only be answered by the ministry*. Abandoned as they are, I fancy they will not confess that they have, for so many years, maintained possession of another man's property. After admitting the assertion of the ministry—viz. *that the Spaniards had no rightful claim*, and after justifying them for saying so,—it is *his business not mine*, to give us some good reason for their *suffering the pretensions of Spain to be a subject of negotiation*. He admits the facts;—let him reconcile them if he can.

* A writer, subscribing himself *Anti-Junius*, attacked the preceding letter of JUNIUS in three successive numbers of the *Public Advertiser*, in February 1771; but, after the extracts inserted from Dr. Johnson, his letters are hardly intitled to further notice. EDITOR

The last paragraph brings us back to the original question, whether the Spanish declaration contains such a satisfaction as the King of Great Britain ought to have accepted. This was the field, upon which he ought to have encountered JUNIUS openly and fairly. But here he leaves the argument, as no longer defensible. I shall therefore conclude with one general admonition to my fellow subjects;—that, when they hear these matters debated, they should not suffer themselves to be misled by general declamations upon the conveniences of peace, or the miseries of war. Between peace and war, abstractedly, there is not, there cannot be a question in the mind of a rational being. The real questions are, *Have we any security that the peace we have so dearly purchased will last a twelve month?* and if not,—*have we or have we not, sacrificed the fairest opportunity of making war with advantage?*

PHILO JUNIUS*.

* On the seventh of February appeared the following letter:

“ TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

The first letter of *Anti-Junius* did not promise a second, or at least it escaped me. I shall reserve my observations on his second till I see the whole.

In the third paragraph of my letter (line 29) it should have been printed common course, not common cause.

PHILO JUNIUS.”

The error is corrected in this edition. EDIT.





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